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PLUTARCH.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

AND

WILLIAM LANGHORNE, A.M.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE SECOND EDITION,

BY

THE REV. FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. F.R.S.

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

VISCOUNT MILTON,

ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT OF THE
COUNTY OF YORK, &c. &c.

MY DEAR LORD,

WHEN under the sanction of your Lordship's name I offer to the Public an edition of PLUTARCH'S Lives of Illustrious Men, I am sensible that I place before them a melancholy series of instances, in which Virtue was referred for her sole recompense to the recollection of her achievements, or to the consciousness of her purposes. To the eye of the multitude, this may appear to throw over her an unnatural and a discouraging gloom. But you, my Lord, inherit the talent of appreciating her value by better tests, than that of her worldly brilliance. Allied by descent and substituted by delegation to men, for whose integrity, public and private, future PLUTARCHS may be at a loss to discover parallels, you have early been led into studies and reflexions which, though they have given poig-

DEDICATION.

nancy to your regret, have mitigated your surprise, at the sad and frequent spectacle of proscribed patriotism. You have followed ARISTIDES in his exile from Athens, and CATO in his retreat to Utica—but why do I draw exclusively from antiquity examples of national ingratitude?—You have wept over the uncommemorated martyrdom of a DE WITT, and have witnessed the calamitous abandonment, even by the people whom he loved and whom he served, of a Fox.

Undeterred by their fates, my Lord, may you ever continue emulous of their virtues! For yourself, politically characterised, I cannot utter a more comprehensive or a loftier prayer. If I venture to express a farther wish, that the principles of liberty, toleration, and economy, of which you have already shown (and will, I doubt not, always show) yourself the able, undaunted, and incorruptible assertor, may become more popular than they have lately been, it is for my country.

I remain, my dear Lord,
with sentiments of the utmost regard and respect,
your Lordship's very faithful friend and servant,

FRS. WRANGHAM.

Hunmanby, Dec. 1, 1808.

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PREFACE,

BY THE LANGHORNEs.

IF the merit of a work may be estimated from the universality of it's reception, Plutarch's Lives have a claim to the first honours of literature. No book has been more generally sought after, or read with greater avidity. It was one of the first, which were brought out of the retreats of the learned, and translated into the modern languages. Amyot, abbé of Bellozane, published a French translation of it in the reign of Henry the Second *; and from that

* This translation, M. Ricard informs us, was preceded by one in Italian from the pen of Sansoveno; and was 'drily re-translated' (as Boileau severely remarks) in the following century by the abbé Tallemant. The version of Amyot, from it's deservedly-high character, has been frequently reprinted. Of the two editions of it recently given to the public, one had the honour of being superintended by MM. Brotier and Vauvilliers, of whose notes some use is made in the present work; and is farther recommended—shall I say, or encumbered—by all the grandeur of modern typography.

This version however, though, as M. Ricard observes, it has in it's stile something of natural and simple elegance, has likewise (as might reasonably be expected from it's date, and the dearth

work it was translated into English *, in the time of queen Elizabeth.

It is said by those, who are not willing to allow Shakspeare much learning, that he availed himself of the last-mentioned translation †; but they seem to forget that, in order to support their arguments of this kind, it is necessary for them to prove that Plato too was translated into English at the same time; for the celebrated soliloquy, “To be, or not to be ‡,”

at that time of critical and philological works) phrases frequently antique, and interpretations frequently erroneous. Such is the judgement of Meziriac, and with him Wytttenbach (in his correct and copious preface to the *Morals*, ed. Ox. 1795, &c. xvii. xcvi.) fully agrees. Neither is Dacier his successor, notwithstanding his great advantages, to be regarded as unexceptionable. The monotony of his diction, it must be owned, is ill-adapted to represent a writer, whose various page with admirable appropriateness accommodates itself to it's subject: and he is too uniformly *triste* in his expressions, as if he feared to venture upon those happy hazards, those adventurous splendours, which characterise his author. He is, besides, needlessly diffuse. From this charge, indeed, Plutarch himself is not everywhere exempt: and hence the translation becomes revoltingly tedious. Those, who labour to be brief, become sometimes obscure; but clearness is not a necessary consequence of prolixity. E.

* By Thomas North, A. D. 1579. E.

† See Farmer's *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, ed. 1st. p. 9—11., where two instances are adduced from *Antony and Cleopatra*, and a third from *Julius Cæsar*, in strong support of the assertion. E.

‡ Whether this be copied from the *Historie of Hamblet* in black letter, or not (see Farmer *ib.*, p. 20.), the editor is unable to state. But thence, it appears, and not from the untranslated *Saxo Grammaticus*, Shakspeare had the general plot of this justly-celebrated tragedy. E.

is taken, almost *verbatim*, from that philosopher; yet we have never found, that Plato was translated in those times.

Amyot was a man of great industry, and considerable learning. He sought diligently in the libraries of Rome and Venice for those Lives of Plutarch, which are lost; and, though his search was unsuccessful, it had this good effect, that by meeting with a variety of manuscripts, and comparing them with the printed copies, he was enabled in many places to rectify the text. This was a very essential circumstance: for few ancient writers had suffered more than Plutarch, from the carelessness of printers and transcribers; and, with all his merit, it was his fate for a long time to find no able restorer. The schoolmen despised his Greek, because it had not the purity of Xenophon, nor the Attic terseness of Aristophanes; and, on that account, very unreasonably bestowed their labours on those who wanted them less. Amyot's translation was published in the year 1558; but no reputable edition of the Greek text of Plutarch appeared, till that of Paris in 1624. The above-mentioned translation however, though drawn from an imperfect text, was still read, till Dacier, under better auspices and in better times, attempted a new one; which he executed with great elegance, and tolerable accuracy. The text he followed was not so correct, as might have been wished; for the London edition of Plutarch was not then published. The French language however being at that time in high perfection, and current through almost every court in Europe,

Dacier's translation came not only into the libraries, but into the hands of men. Plutarch was universally studied, and no book in those times had a more extensive sale, or went through a greater number of impressions. The translator had, indeed, acquitted himself in one respect with considerable felicity. His book was not found to be French Greek. He had carefully followed that rule, of which no translator ought ever to lose sight, the grand rule—of humouring the genius, and maintaining the structure, of his own language. For this purpose, he frequently broke the long and embarrassed periods of the Greek; and, by dividing and shortening them in his translation, gave them greater perspicuity and a more easy movement. Yet still he was faithful to his original; and where he did not mistake him, which indeed he seldom did, conveyed his ideas with clearness, though not without verbosity. His translation had another distinguished advantage. He enriched it with a variety of explanatory notes. There are so many readers, who have no competent acquaintance with the customs of antiquity, the laws of the ancient states, the ceremonies of their religion, and the remoter and more minute parts of their history and genealogy; that to have an account of these matters ever before the eye, and to travel with a guide who is ready to describe to us every object we are unacquainted with, is a privilege equally convenient and agreeable. But here the annotator ought to have stopped. Satisfied with removing the difficulties usually arising in the circumstances above-mentioned, he should

not have swelled his pages with idle declamations on trite morals and obvious sentiments. Amyot's margins, indeed, are everywhere crowded with such. In those times they followed the method of the old divines, which was, to make practical improvements of every matter; but it is somewhat strange that Dacier, who wrote in a more enlightened age, should fall into that beaten track of insipid moralising, and be at pains to say what every one must know*, Perhaps, as the commentator of Plutarch, he considered himself as a kind of travelling companion to the reader; and, agreeably to the manners of his country, he meant to show his politeness by never holding his tongue. The apology, which he makes for deducing and detailing these flat precepts, is the view of instructing younger minds. He had not philosophy enough to consider, that to anticipate the conclusions of such minds, in their pursuit of history and characters, is to prevent their proper effect. When examples are placed before them, they will not fail to make right inferences; but, if those are made for them, the didactic air of information destroys their influence.

After the old English translation of Plutarch,

* These remarks apply likewise, in a limited degree, to Plutarch's last French translator, the abbé Ricard, whose version of the Lives in thirteen volumes 12mo. appeared 1798—1803. He had previously favoured his countrymen with a translation of the Morals. This respectable man, to whom the editor can hardly state how great are his obligations, died at Paris of the *grippe*, Jan. 28, 1803, aged sixty-two. A short memoir and *éloge* of him are attached to his last work. E.

which was professedly taken from Amyot's French, no other appeared till the time of Dryden. That great man, who is never to be mentioned without pity and admiration, was prevailed upon by his necessities to head a company of translators ; and to lend the sanction of his glorious name to a translation of Plutarch, written (as he himself acknowledges) by almost as many hands, as there were Lives. That this motley work was full of errors, inequalities, and inconsistencies, is not in the least to be wondered at. Of such a variety of translators, it would have been very singular, if some had not failed in learning, and some in language. The truth is, that the greatest part of them were deficient in both. Their task, indeed, was not easy. To translate Plutarch, under any circumstances, would require no ordinary skill in the language and antiquities of Greece : but to attempt it, while the text was in a depraved state, unsettled, and unrectified, abounding with misnomers and transpositions, this required much greater abilities, than fell to the lot of that body of translators in general. It appears however, from the execution of their undertaking, that they gave themselves no great concern about the difficulties, that attended it. Some few blundered at the Greek ; some drew from the scholiast's Latin ; and others, more humble, trod scrupulously in the paces of Amyot. Thus copying the idioms of different languages, they proceeded like the workmen at Babel, and fell into a confusion of tongues, while they attempted to speak the same. But the diversities of stile were not the greatest fault of this

strange translation. It was full of the grossest errors. Ignorance on the one hand, and hastiness or negligence on the other, had filled it with absurdities in every Life, and inaccuracies in almost every page. The language in general was insupportably tame, tedious, and embarrassed. The periods had no harmony; the phraseology had no elegance, no spirit, no precision.

Yet this is the last translation of Plutarch's Lives, that has appeared in the English language, and the only one that is now read.

It must be owned that, when Dacier's translation came abroad, the proprietor of Dryden's copy endeavoured to repair it. But how was this done? Not by the application of learned men, who might have rectified the mistakes by consulting the original, but by a mean recourse to the labours of Dacier. Where the French translator had differed from the English, the opinions of the latter were religiously given up; and sometimes a period, and sometimes a page, were translated anew from Dacier: while, in due compliment to him, the idiom of his language and every *tour d'expression* were most scrupulously preserved. Nay, the editors of that edition, which was published in 1727, did more. They not only paid Dacier the compliment of mixing his French with their English; but while they borrowed his notes, they adopted even the most frivolous and superfluous comments that escaped his pen.

Thus the English Plutarch's Lives, at first so he-

terogeneous and absurd, received but little benefit from this whimsical reparation. Dacier's best notes were, indeed, of some value ; but the patch-work alterations drawn by the editors from his translation, made their book appear still more like Otway's Old Woman, whose gown of many colours spoke

—— variety of wretchedness.

This translation continued in the same form upward of thirty years. But in the year 1758 the proprietor engaged a gentleman of abilities, very different from those who had formerly been employed, to give it a second purgation. He succeeded as well, as it was possible for any man of the best judgment and learning to succeed in an attempt of that nature : that is to say, he rectified a multitude of errors, and in many places endeavoured to mend the miserable language. Two of the Lives he translated anew ; and this he executed in such a manner that, had he done the whole, the present translators would never have thought of the undertaking. But two Lives out of fifty made a very small part of this great work ; and though he rectified many mistakes in the old translation, yet where almost every thing was mistake, it is no wonder if many escaped him. This was, indeed, the case. In the course of our notes, we had remarked a great number ; but, apprehensive that such a continual attention to the faults of a former translation might appear invidious, we expunged the chief part of the remarks, and suffered

such only to remain, as might testify the propriety of our present undertaking*. Besides, though the ingenious reviser of the edition of 1758 might repair the language, where it was most palpably deficient, it was impossible for him to alter the cast and complexion of the whole. It would still retain it's inequalities, it's tameness, and it's heavy march ; it's mixture of idioms, and the irksome train of far-connected periods. These it still retains ; and, after all the operations it has gone through, remains

Like some patch'd dog-hole, eked with ends of wall !

In this view of things, the necessity of a new translation is obvious ; and the hazard does not appear to be great. With such competitors for the public favour, the contest has neither glory nor danger attending it. But the labour and attention necessary, as well to secure as to obtain that favour, neither are nor ought to be less : and, with whatever success the present translators may be thought to have executed their undertaking, they will always at least have the merit of a diligent desire to discharge this public duty faithfully.

Where the text of Plutarch appeared to them erroneous, they have spared no pains, and neglected no means in their power to rectify it.

Sensible that the principal art of a translator is to prevent the peculiarities of his author's language from stealing into his own, they have been particu-

* Many of those likewise, as no longer necessary, are in this edition omitted. E.

larly attentive to this point, and have generally endeavoured to keep their English unmixed with Greek. At the same time it must be observed, that there is frequently a great similarity in the structure of the two languages: yet that resemblance in some instances makes it the more necessary to guard against it on the whole. This care is of the greater consequence, because Plutarch's Lives generally pass through the hands of young people, who ought to read their own language in it's native purity, unmixed and untainted with the idioms of different tongues. For their sakes too, as well as for the sake of readers of a different class, we have omitted some passages in the text, and have only signified the omission by asterisks*. Some, perhaps, may censure us for having taken too great a liberty with our author in this circumstance: however, we must beg leave in that instance to abide by our own opinion; and we are sure, that we should have censured no translator for the same. Could every thing of that kind have been omitted, we should have been still less dissatisfied: but sometimes the chain of the narrative would not admit of it, and the disagreeable parts were to be gotten over with as much decency as possible.

In the descriptions of battles, camps, and sieges, it is more than probable that we may sometimes have been mistaken in the military terms. We have en-

* Some of these have been re-inserted by the present editor; in one instance particularly of a story twice told, which the Langhornes, by an oversight abundantly venial in so long a work, had admitted in one of the passages, and excluded in the other. E.

deavoured, however, to be as accurate in this respect as possible, and to acquaint ourselves with this kind of knowledge as well as our situations would permit; but we will not promise the reader, that we have always succeeded. Where something seemed to have fallen out of the text, or where the ellipsis was too violent for the forms of our language, we have not scrupled to maintain the tenor of the narrative, or the chain of reasoning, by such little insertions as appeared necessary for the purpose. These short insertions we at first put between hooks; but as that deformed the page, without answering any material purpose, we soon rejected it*.

Such are the liberties, which we have taken with Plutarch; and the learned, we flatter ourselves, will not think them too great. Yet there is one more which, if we could have presumed upon it, would have made his book infinitely more uniform and agreeable. We often wished to throw out of the text into the notes those tedious and digressive comments, which spoil the beauty and order of his narrative, mortify the expectation (frequently when it is most essentially interested) and destroy the natural influence of his story by turning the attention into a different channel. What, for instance, can be more irksome and impertinent, than a long dissertation on a point of natural philosophy starting up at the very crisis of some important action? Every reader

* These have, in many cases, been replaced; in order to give the English reader, not only as nearly as practicable with propriety 'the whole truth,' but also in as few instances as possible 'any thing but the truth.' E.

of Plutarch must have felt the pain of these unseasonable digressions ; but we could not, upon our own pleasure or authority, remove them.

In the Notes, we have prosecuted these several intentions. We have endeavoured to bring the English reader acquainted with the Greek and Roman antiquities ; where Plutarch had omitted any thing remarkable in the Lives, to supply it from other authors, and to make his book in some measure a general history of the periods under his pen.

This part of our work is neither wholly borrowed, nor altogether original. Where Dacier or other annotators offered us any thing to the purpose, we have not scrupled to make use of it ; and, to avoid the endless trouble of citations, we make this acknowledgement once for all. The number of original notes the learned reader will find to be very considerable : but there are not so many notes of any kind in the latter part of the work ; because the manners and customs, the religious ceremonies, laws, state-offices, and forms of government among the ancients having been explained in the first Lives, much did not remain for the business of information.

PREFACE,

BY THE EDITOR.

HISTORY, says Cicero, 'is the evidence of ages, the light of truth, the life of memory, and the school of life.' Reason, slow and doubtful in her progress, requires an intelligent guide to accelerate and regulate her march. History takes her by the hand in infancy, accompanies her up to maturity, and collects the testimony of universal experience for her instruction. The successes of caution and wisdom, and the disasters of negligence and folly, are pressed upon her view; and she turns with disgust from the wild illusions of those ignorant or perfidious philosophers, who fascinated by the idea of unattainable perfection, or goaded by the fatal lust of celebrity, have speculated with rapture upon the blessings of revolution.

From this class of politicians has originated the modern notion, that states like individuals are subject to a necessary succession of growth and declension; and that, after having reached the summit of their grandeur, they gradually sink into sterility and decrepitude, unless recalled as it were by a total

renewal of constitution to a fresh career of glory and of happiness. The analogy however, upon which this opinion professes to be founded, is merely imaginary. The individual from his birth sustains the incessant, though imperceptible, assaults of a principle of destruction, which sooner or later infallibly conducts him to the tomb :

The young disease, that must subdue at length,
Grows with his growth, and strengthens with his strength.

But states rest upon moral-relations, to which decline and death are by no means essential. It cannot indeed be denied, that empires from their “high and palmy” vigour have fallen into decay : but this, though an ordinary result of their connexion with human passions under the irritations of prosperity, is at the same time so far from being inevitable, that skilful legislators have frequently prevented it’s taking place. In the very bosom of corruption Lycurgus regenerated Sparta, and gave her a degree of strength and stability, by which for a series of years she was enabled to wield the sceptre of Greece. “It is often impossible,” says Mr. Burke, “in these political inquiries to find any proportion between the apparent force of any moral causes we may assign, and their known operation. We are therefore obliged to deliver up that operation to mere chance, or more piously (perhaps, more rationally) to the occasional interposition and irresistible hand of the Great Disposer.”

In a small republic indeed, from it’s contracted extent, reform is undoubtedly more practicable, than

in a wide and wealthy nation, corrupted by the luxury of it's members and enfeebled by the folly of it's chiefs. But, even then, all is not lost. If she cannot be exalted afresh to her former height, she may be replaced upon her original foundation, and her existence may be protracted for indefinite ages : not however by a bold introduction of new principles, a kind of moral transfusion of vitality, but by remedies analogous to her primitive constitution, and administered with a most delicate and trembling hand.

History informs us that states, in proportion to their ignorance, are usually accessible to seduction. It is the trick of innovators to decry her authority. Incensed by the stubborn opposition of her records, they assert that ' Man has no need of precedent for his instruction. Has he not reason for his tutress? Yielding then to her native impulses, let him open to future generations new sources of grandeur and felicity.' From the representations of these arrogant revolutionists it would appear, that the torch of truth was never lighted before : that the track of government has hitherto been nothing but a miserable byepath, in which the blind have been leaders of the blind ; and that nations have been studiously crippled into tameness and imbecillity !

Alas ! into how many ruinous mistakes have we been betrayed, by the guidance of this boasted reason ! How often, under her influence when swayed (as she too frequently is) by the passions, have we closed our eyes, or lifted our hand against the divinity of truth ! And to these errors statesmen in

particular, from the blandishments of flattery, the thirst of domination, and the habits of unresisted sway, are eminently exposed. The man of genius himself, accustomed from his lofty position to an extensive range of prospect, requires a pilot to direct him across the trackless ocean of political speculation. History supplies him with the chart and the compass, and conducts him to the desired port.

Rashly then has it been imputed as a crime to the enlightened legislators of antiquity, that they servilely trod in the steps of their predecessors, and like them held their respective states in darkness and in chains. They should rather be applauded for having opposed law to passion, and limited the exercise of liberty with the view of ensuring it's duration.

Universal history, however, is a field too wide for the human foot; and even those portions of it, which trace the progress and achievements of an entire people, to be read with advantage, demand degrees of intellect and of application seldom found united. But the species adopted by Plutarch, and of which this most instructive and entertaining writer may almost be pronounced the inventor (for the comparatively-barren pages of Cornelius Nepos scarcely require to be mentioned) is easier of comprehension, and upon that account more generally interesting. The former, like a well-composed picture distinguished by the variety, harmony, and arrangement of it's parts, can only be appreciated and enjoyed by an able connoisseur: the latter, like a gallery of portraits of well-known personages, offers subjects of comparison and verification to the

ordinary spectator. And this interest is judiciously heightened by the *Parallels*, that distinctive accompaniment of Plutarch's biographies, which exhibits the striking features of each character in a stronger light, and assists the judgement as much as it gratifies the eye.

From these sources he undoubtedly derived that celebrity, which extending beyond the limits of his native Bœotia, procured for him the citizenship of Athens, and at last introduced him into the senate and the palace of imperial Rome. Posterity has ratified the verdict of his contemporaries. His *Lives*, interspersed with sketches of ancient manners, which give a sort of dramatic bustle to the moving scene, are the delight of every condition and of every age.

Nothing bears a more decisive testimony in favour of the author's character, than his choice of subjects—Heroes, not more admirable for their courage, than for their application of it; modest and generous in success, and in the midst of victory letting fall the arm of conquest to extend the hand of consolation: Legislators, who diffused happiness by their wise institutions: Statesmen, whose counsels were directed to the welfare of their country; and Orators displaying by their political sagacity and their eloquence in the *Rostra* that ardour for liberty, which their compatriots exhibited as warriors in the field. The history of such men is a continuous lesson of practical morality, a series of models of valour, moderation, prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude, and in short of every personal and social

virtue. If opposite characters are occasionally introduced, it is for the purpose (as Plutarch himself has remarked) of setting off the others with all the advantage of contrast. ‘Instances of bad,’ says Pascal, ‘occur the most frequently; and we should therefore strenuously labour to render them subservient to our instruction.’

One of Plutarch’s chief merits in this work is, that he appears everywhere less studious to detail illustrious exploits (the efforts generally of strong passion, and the employment of but a few brilliant moments) than those more delicate particulars of private conduct, which though neglected by other authors, give the clearest view of manners and natural disposition. A casual trait or expression often supplies a better knowledge of the heart, than volumes of state-papers and gazettes. The tyrant*, who through an involuntary emotion sprung from his seat in the midst of an affecting tragedy, and rushed out of the theatre indignantly exclaiming, “What! am I susceptible of pity!” exhibits more completely by that single sentence the atrocity of his temper, than by all the murders which then crowded upon his remembrance.

Among the few censurers of this species of history (for it too, like every thing else, has been censured)

* Alexander of Pheræ. Of this usurper the reader will find some account in the *Life of Pelopidas*.

It is one of the finest couplets, in Pope’s fine prologue to Addison’s *Cato*, where he represents the sudden operation of this feeling excited by the tragic muse:

Tyrants no more their savage nature kept,
And foes to virtue wonder’d why they wept.

the abbé Sallier, member of the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, is one of the most considerable. In his critique upon three of Plutarch's Treatises—on 'The Fortune of the Romans,' and 'on The Fortune, and the Virtue of Alexander the Great'—he has strongly arraigned his scheme of biographical composition. He particularly condemns the national partiality, which led him by strange approximation to compare together men, not more distant from each other in time and place, than in pursuits and passions and achievements. 'Anticipating in his Parallels the judgement of posterity, he places his favourite Greeks on a level with the most renowned sages and warriors of Rome, exaggerates their slightest labours, and not unfrequently assigns them the palm of superiority.'

This is a serious charge, but it is an incorrect one. It was no part of Plutarch's character, to flatter his heroes. If they are intemperate in victory; if they abuse their power to purposes of ambition, and subjugate, while they pretend to protect; if in the administration of public affairs they evince not that disinterestedness, which does good for it's own sake, and marches invariably to glory by the path of justice, he then condemns them without scruple. Pericles is perhaps the solitary personage, upon whom he has bestowed excessive praise; blinded, as it would seem, by his talents and his successes to his important errors. Sometimes, likewise, he has been misled by his authorities. But of this, examples seldom occur.

In his Parallels, the subjects are often placed in

exact equilibrium ; and, where they are of unequal weight, the preponderance is almost as often seen in the Roman as in the Grecian scale*. What better evidence indeed of his integrity can be suggested, than what is to be found in his comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero ! On the score of eloquence, what a field for the indulgence of his supposed ‘ partiality† !’ But he declines that part of the parallel, as beyond his power.

* See the comparisons of Solon and Publicola, of Pelopidas and Marcellus, of Philopœmen and Flaminius, of Demetrius and Antony, &c. &c. May we not the rather be disposed to prefer or to admit this charge of partiality against Plutarch, from being accustomed to form our opinions, both of the Greek and Roman Illustrissimi, under the representations principally of Roman writers ? The man would not be seen subduing the lion, if lions were sculptors.

From some cause or other, however, it has been the fashion, very generally, to complain of his nationality. In her ‘ Hints toward forming the Character of a young Princess,’ Mrs. More observes, “ Plutarch teaches two things excellently, antiquity and human nature. He would deserve admiration, were it only for that magazine of wisdom, condensed in the excellent sayings of so many great men, which he has recorded. Perhaps, all the historians together have not transmitted to us so many of the sage axioms and *bon mots* of ancient Greece and Rome. Yet in his Parallels—if that can be called ‘ a Parallel,’ which brings together two men who have commonly little or no resemblance—even the upright Plutarch exhibits something too much of ‘ partiality :’ the scale, whenever he weighs one of his own countrymen against a Roman, almost invariably inclining to the Greek side,” &c.

As a relater of battles, likewise, his accuracy is impeached by Andreossi, in his ‘ Retrospective View of the Military Descriptions of Historians ;’ who imputes part of his mistakes, indeed, to his having too closely followed Livy.

† Quintilian stands up for his brother-Roman (x. 1.), but Fenelon adjudges the victory to the Grecian orator. The French critics,

With regard to ‘the strange approximation of men distant from each other in time and place,’ imputed to him by M. Sallier—this is surely an excellence, to have been able to select individuals so similar from stations and periods so remote, and to have portrayed with accuracy the features, in which they particularly agreed or differed. And to censure him for having ‘anticipated the judgement of posterity,’ is to criminate along with him the most eminent writers of history, who seldom dismiss a great man without pronouncing some opinion upon his merits. The *Parallels* in fact, thus severely treated, have usually been considered as the most interesting part of his work; always sensible and sagacious, and in a great plurality at least of instances impartial and just. Four of them*, and those (it may be surmised) not the most inconsiderable in value, are supposed to have perished.

Of his *Lives*, likewise, several are unfortunately lost: but two, more especially, demand our regret; those of Aristomenes the Messenian, and of Epaminondas the Theban general—the latter, in parti-

however, in general (Rapin, &c.) arrange themselves on the side of Cicero.

* Those of Themistocles and Camillus, of Pyrrhus and Marius, of Alexander and Cæsar, and of Phocion and Cato the Younger. They have been successively supplied by Duhaillon, Dacier, and Ricard; and from the last of those writers they are, in a considerably compressed form, introduced, on the strong recommendation of the *Monthly Review*, Jan. 1771, into the present edition. (They are distinguished from the other parallels by a †.) To the same source, also, must be referred the greater part of the Editor’s preface.

cular, a hero great by his actions, but still greater by his virtues; by Cicero pronounced 'the first of the Greeks,' and by his tutor Spintharus 'the man who knew the most, and spoke the least;' the pure philosophy of whose principles was excelled by that of his conduct, and who refused to exchange his cherished poverty even for honourable riches! What a theme for his fellow-countryman's biography! How must his 'national partiality' have made him almost surpass himself, upon a subject so magnificent! If his attachment to Bœotia once rendered him unjust to an invaluable historian*, how must it have inspired him, when engaged in the delightful employment of celebrating the 'child and champion' of her glory!

The stile of Plutarch is his least perfect part. Deficient in softness, in harmony, and in grace, his periods are long and dragging, and occasionally obscure; without the purity so captivating in Demosthenes, Æschines, Plato, Xenophon, and the other luminaries of that splendid æra, which though long anterior to his own, was vividly impressed upon his remembrance. This, indeed, we may safely infer from the numerous quotations scattered over every part of his works. But he was not a native of Athens; and when he visited that place, he had

* Herodotus had represented the inhabitants of Plataeæ, after their alliance with Xerxes, as not less strenuous in their exertions against the other Greeks than the barbarians themselves. Plutarch, instead of refuting the particular fact, in his Treatise on 'The Malignity of Herodotus,' has endeavoured to destroy his general credibility by vague charges of partiality, misrepresentation, and falsehood.

breathed Theban air too long, to attain that delicacy of taste, that exquisite sensibility, and that peculiar simplicity, which charm us in the indigenous productions of Attica. Still, however, his diction is far above the feeble and the mean. Full of animation and energy, it generally sets off his ideas with rich images and similies, borrowed from physical objects and effects, or from such qualities of the human frame, as it falls within the compass of every intellect easily to apprehend. To the poets it is, frequently, indebted for high poetical illustrations; and the occasional transfer of entire passages, in a dislocated order, from their labours to his own, gives to his sentences a character of boldness not usually to be found in prose compositions.

To this slight disquisition upon history, biography, and Plutarch, it may not be improper to subjoin a brief statement of what has been attempted in the present work.

The translation of Plutarch's Lives by the Langhorns is almost the only one ever opened by the English reader: and had it not been marked by some slight incorrectnesses of version, especially in the poetical quotations (where the author of 'The Flowers of Fancy,' with a licence pardonable perhaps in a poet, seems occasionally to have commuted accuracy for elegance), some few trivialities of diction, some capricious omissions of paragraphs—which are now, without any violation, it is hoped, of delicacy, inserted—and some considerable defici-

encies in the notes *, the present Editor would have shrunk from touching a work, executed upon the whole in so very creditable a manner. A due attention to these however, with the introduction of Summaries prefixed to each life, and the four deficient Parallels will, he trusts, in some degree excuse his boldness. He had proposed likewise to draw up a new Life of Plutarch, incorporating all that was important in the distinct biographies of Langhorne, Ricard, and Wyttenbach ; but the latter has not yet made it's appearance from the Clarendon press, and the first singly gives much of what can be collected on the subject, in a strain of great candour and liberality. With some inconsiderable alterations therefore, like those adopted in the preface from the same pen, it is here retained. The intended Dissertation, on ' the Incertitude of the first five Centuries of the Roman History,' is in a great measure superseded by a brief and accurate statement to the

* The references to authorities in particular, which were often incorrect, have in most instances been verified or rectified, with no small trouble. A few allusions to modern events were forced upon the editor by their striking parallelism to ancient ones: but, when it is considered how easily he might have swelled their number, he will perhaps gain a little credit for what he has ' discreetly blotted' out. To have collated still more extensively the other historians of Greece and Rome, for the purpose of exhibiting strong co-incidences, or detecting petty discrepancies of narrative, would indeed have been ' strenuous idleness.' The notes, however, will be found to contain farther explanations of antiquities, customs, manners, and laws; with short notices of authors quoted, and places mentioned, in the text. The additions are, usually, designated by an asterism.

same purport, prefixed to the last edition of Ferguson's Roman Republic, dated 1805.

In the remains of ancient history, Chronology is often a matter of almost inextricable perplexity. Plutarch himself complains of the negligence, with which tables on that subject had been constructed. And yet the dates of events, especially of great events, are indispensable. Upon this head, however, there have been too many theories, and the difference of a year or two in an epoch*, though it deranges the entire set of dates referred to it, when compared with some more general æra, is in itself so seldom material, that the Editor has judged it most advisable to adopt almost implicitly, in his enlarged and improved Table, the system of Blair. The dates of the principal facts, recorded in the ensuing volumes, will satisfy the general reader; and of those, that are less certain or less important, the learned will arrange the chronology for themselves. One cause of the embarrassment here complained of is, the difference in the commencement of the Greek and Roman months, as compared with each other, and with our's. The variation between the two former Plutarch has himself assigned, as a source of the uncertainty prevailing with respect to the epoch of the Foundation of Rome†. The very order of the months is not free from doubt.

* E. g. Whether Rome was built B. C. 752, or 753; for Newton's 'perturbing' computations, which place it B. C. 627, it is impossible to adopt, without regenerating the whole of the established Roman chronology.

† See the Life of Romulus, I. 65., &c.

Enlarged Tables of Time, of the Values, &c. of ancient Coins, of Weights, and of Measures of Length and Capacity (for things Liquid, and Dry) are also subjoined; and in the translation it has been judged more correct uniformly to retain the original names, for an account of which these tables may at any time be consulted, than to substitute for them modern appellations not strictly equivalent in value.

If with these additions the Editor may presume to hope, that he has a little improved the valuable author entrusted to his revision, he will not regret the hours employed upon the undertaking. More than slight approbation he ventures not, even in his sanguine moments, to anticipate; when he reflects, how much in a work of this kind is necessarily due to others, and how inconsiderable has usually been the applause bestowed upon the still more laborious task of primary translation. It would indeed be unreasonable to expect, that industry should receive the recompence of genius.

THE
LIFE
OF
PLUTARCH.

AS, in the progress of life, we first pass through scenes of innocence, peace, and fancy, and afterward encounter the vices and disorders of society; so we shall here amuse ourselves awhile in the peaceful solitude of the philosopher, before we proceed to those more animated, but less pleasing, objects which he describes.

Neither will the view of a philosopher's life be less instructive than his labours. If the latter teach us how great vices, accompanied with great abilities, may tend to the ruin of a state; if they inform us how ambition attended with magnanimity, how avarice directed by political sagacity, how envy and revenge armed with personal valour and popular support, will destroy the most sacred establishments, and break through every barrier of human repose and safety; the former will convince us that equanimity is more desirable than the highest privileges of mind, and that the most distinguished situations in life are less to be envied than those quiet allotments, where science is the companion of virtue.

Pindar and Epaminondas had, long before Plutarch's time, redeemed in some measure the credit of Bœotia, and rescued the inhabitants of that country from the proverbial imputation of stupidity*. When Plutarch appeared, he confirmed the reputation, which it had recovered. He showed that genius is not the growth of any particular soil, and that it's cultivation requires no peculiar qualities of climate.

Chæronea, a town in Bœotia between Phocis and Attica, had the honour of giving him birth. This place was remarkable for nothing but the tameness and servility of it's inhabitants, whom Antony's soldiers obliged, as beasts of burthen†, to carry their corn upon their shoulders to the coast. As it lay between two seas, and was partly shut up by mountains, the air of course was heavy. But situations, as little favoured by nature as Chæronea, have given birth to the greatest men; of which the celebrated Locke‡, and many others, are instances.

Plutarch himself acknowledges the general stupidity of the Bœotians; but he imputes it rather to their diet§, than to their air: for in his Treatise on Animal Food, he intimates that a gross indulgence in that article, which was usual with his countrymen, contributes greatly to obscure the intellectual faculties.

It is not easy to ascertain, in what year he was born. Ruauld places it about the middle of the reign of Claudius; others, toward it's end. The

* *Bœotûm in crasso jurares aëre natum,*

says Horace (Ep. II. i. 244.) speaking of Alexander's little taste for poetry. E.

† See the Life of Antony, V.

‡ Locke was born at Wrington near Axbridge, in Somersetshire, not far from the margin of the Bristol Channel.

§ Pind. Ol. vi. 152. had ascribed it to a similar cause, their voracity, in his Βοιωτῶν οὖν. See also Juv. Sat. x. 50. Plutarch however, in his Treatise on the Demon of Socrates, states that from the time of that philosopher this disgraceful character had been gradually on the decline. E.

following circumstance is the only foundation, which they have for their conjectures : Plutarch says, that he studied philosophy under Ammonius at Delphi, when Nero made his progress into Greece. This, we know, was in the twelfth year of that emperor's reign, in the consulship of Paulinus Suetonius and Pontius Telesinus, A. D. 66. Dacier observes, that Plutarch must have been at least seventeen or eighteen years old, when he was engaged in the abstruse studies of philosophy ; and accordingly fixes his birth about five or six years before the death of Claudius. This, however, is bare supposition ; and that, in our opinion, not of the most probable kind. The youth of Greece studied very early under the philosophers ; whose works, with those of the poets and rhetoricians, formed their chief course of discipline.

But to determine whether he was born under the reign of Claudius, or in the early part of Nero's reign (which we the rather believe, as he says himself that he was very young, when Nero entered Greece) ; to make it clearly understood, whether he studied at Delphi at ten or at eighteen years of age, is of much less consequence, than it is to know by what means and under what auspices he acquired that humane and rational philosophy, which is distinguishable in his works.

Ammonius was his preceptor ; but of him we know little more, than what his scholar has accidentally let fall concerning him *. He mentions a singular instance of his manner of correcting his pupils : " Our master," says he, " having one day observed that we had indulged ourselves too luxuriously at dinner, at his afternoon-lecture ordered his freed-man to give his own son the discipline of the whip, in our presence ; signifying, at the same time, that he suffered this punishment, because he could not

* From the *Symposiacs*, ix. 1. it appears, that he filled the office of prætor at Athens. E.

eat his victuals without sauce. The philosopher all the while had his eye upon us, and we knew well for whom this example of punishment was intended." This circumstance shows, at least, that Ammonius was not of the school of Epicurus. The severity of his discipline, indeed, seems rather to have been of the Stoic cast: but it is most probable, that he belonged to the Academicians, for their schools, at that time, had the highest reputation in Greece.

It was a happy circumstance, in the discipline of those schools, that the parent alone had the power of corporal punishment. The ferula was snatched from the hand of the petty tyrant; his sole office was to inform the mind; he had no authority to dastardise the spirit; he had no power to extinguish the generous flame of freedom, or to break down the noble independence of soul, by the slavish and degrading application of the rod. This mode of punishment in our public schools is one of the worst remains of barbarism, that prevails among us. Sensible minds, however volatile and inattentive in early years, may be drawn to their duty by many means, which shame, and fears of a more liberal nature than those of corporal punishment, will supply. Where there is but little sensibility, the effect which that mode of punishment produces is not more happy. It destroys that little; though it should be the first care and labour of the preceptor, to increase it. To beat the body is to debase the mind. Nothing so soon, or so totally, abolishes the sense of shame; and yet that sense is at once the best preservative of virtue, and the greatest incentive to every species of excellence.

Another principal advantage, which the ancient mode of the Greek education gave it's pupils, was their early access to every branch of philosophical learning. They did not, like us, employ their youth in the acquisition of words: they were engaged in pursuits of a loftier nature, in acquiring the know-

ledge of things. They did not, like us, spend seven or ten years of scholastic labour, in making a general acquaintance with two dead languages. Those years were employed in the study of nature, and in gaining the elements of philosophical knowledge from her original economy and laws. Hence all that Dacier has observed, concerning the probability of Plutarch's being seventeen or eighteen years of age when he studied under Ammonius, is without the least weight.

The way to mathematical and philosophical knowledge was, indeed, much more easy among the ancient Greeks, than it can ever be with us. Those and every other science are bound up in terms, which we can never understand precisely, till we become acquainted with the languages whence they are derived. Plutarch, when he learned the Roman language, which was not till he was somewhat advanced in life, observed that 'he got the knowledge of words from his knowledge of things.' But we lie under the necessity of reversing his method; and, before we can arrive at the knowledge of things, we must first labour to obtain the knowledge of words.

Though the Greeks however had access to science without the acquisition of other languages, they were nevertheless sufficiently attentive to the cultivation of their own. Philology, after the mathematics and philosophy, was one of their principal studies; and they applied themselves considerably to critical investigation.

A proof of this we find in that Dissertation, which Plutarch has given us on the word *εἰ*, engraved on the temple of Apollo at Delphi. In this tract he introduces the scholastic disputes, in which he makes a principal figure. After giving us the various significations, assigned by others to this word, he adds his own idea of it; and that is of some consequence to us, because it shows us that he was not a polytheist. "*Εἰ*," says he, "*Thou art*; as if it

were *εἰ* *iv*, *Thou art one*. I mean not in the aggregate sense, as we say, one army, or one body of men composed of many individuals; but that, which exists distinctly, must necessarily be one: and the very idea of being implies individuality. One is that, which is a simple being, free from mixture and composition. To be one therefore, in this sense, is consistent only with a nature entire in it's first principle, and incapable of alteration or decay."

So far we are perfectly satisfied with Plutarch's creed, but not with his criticism. To suppose that the word *εἰ* should signify the existence of one God only, is to hazard too much upon conjecture; and the whole tenor of the heathen theology makes against it.

Neither can we be better pleased with the other interpretations of this celebrated word. We can never suppose, that it barely signified 'if;' intimating, that the business of those who visited the temple was inquiry, and that they came to ask the Deity, 'if' such events should come to pass. This construction is too much forced; and it would do as well or even better, were the *εἰ* interpreted 'if' you make large presents to the God, 'if' you pay the priest.

Were not this inscription an object of attention among the learned, we should not at this distant period of time have thought it worth mentioning, otherwise than as it gives us an idea of one branch of Plutarch's education. But as a single word, inscribed on the temple of Apollo at Delphi, must be a matter of curiosity with those who carry their inquiries into remote antiquity, we shall not scruple to add one more to the other conjectures concerning it.

We will suppose then that the word *εἰ* was here used, in the Ionic dialect, for *εἰθε*, 'I wish.' This perfectly expressed the state of mind of all, that entered the temple on the business of consultation; and it might be no less emphatical in the Greek, than Virgil's *Quanquam O!* was in the Latin. If we

carry this conjecture farther, and think it probable that this word might, as the initial word of a celebrated line in the third book of the *Odyssey*, stand there to signify the whole line, we shall reach a degree of probability almost bordering on certainty. The verse we allude to is this :

Εἰ γὰρ μοι τοσσούτοι θεοὶ δύναμιν παραθήνῃ!

O may the Gods empower me to succeed !

What prayer more proper on entering the temples of the Gods, particularly with the view of consulting them upon the events of life !

If it should be thought, that the initial word is insufficient to represent a whole verse, we answer that it was agreeable to the custom of the ancients. They not only conveyed the sense of particular verses by their initial words, but frequently of large passages by the quotation of a single line, or even of half a line ; some instances of which occur in the following *Lives*. The reason of this is obvious : the works of their best poets were almost universally committed to memory and the smallest quotation was sufficient to convey the sense of a whole passage *.

These observations are matters of mere curiosity, but they have had their use ; for they have naturally pointed out to us another instance of the excellence of that education, which formed our young philosopher. This was the improvement of the memory, by means of exercise.

Mr. Locke has justly, though obviously enough, observed that nothing so much strengthens this faculty, as the employment of it. The Greek mode of education must here have had a wonderful effect. The continual exercise of the memory, in laying up the treasures of their poets, the precepts of their

* A similar mode indeed is adopted in the Christian Psalter, for the sake of more briefly referring to the psalms, by prefixing to each two or three of the initial words from the Latin version. E.

were εἰς *iv*, *Thou art one*. I mean not in the aggregate sense, as we say, one army, or one body of men composed of many individuals; but that, which exists distinctly, must necessarily be one: and the very idea of being implies individuality. One is that, which is a simple being, free from mixture and composition. To be one therefore, in this sense, is consistent only with a nature entire in it's first principle, and incapable of alteration or decay."

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philosophers, and the problems of their mathematicians, must have given it that mechanical power of retention, which nothing could easily escape. Thus Pliny * tells us of a Greek called Charmidas, who could repeat from memory the contents of the largest library. The advantages, which Plutarch derived from this exercise, appear in every part of his works. As the writings of poets lived in his memory, they were ready for use on every apposite occasion. They were always at hand, either to confirm the sentiments and justify the principles of his heroes, to support his own, or to illustrate both. By the aid of a cultivated memory too, he was enabled to write a number of contemporary Lives, and to assign to each such a portion of business in the general transactions of the times, as might be sufficient to delineate the character, without repeated details of the same actions and negociations. This made a very difficult part of his work; and here he acquitted himself with great management and address. Sometimes, indeed, he has repeated the same circumstances in contemporary Lives; but it was hardly avoidable. The chief wonder is, that he has done it so seldom.

But though an improved memory might in this respect be of service to him, as undoubtedly it was, there were others in which it was rather a disadvantage. By trusting too much to it, he has fallen into inaccuracies and inconsistencies, where he was professedly drawing from preceding writers; and we have often been obliged to rectify his mistakes, by consulting those authors, because he would not be at the pains to consult them himself.

If Plutarch might be properly said to belong to any sect of philosophers, his education, the rationality of his principles, and the modesty of his doctrines would incline us to place him with the Latter Academy. At least, when he left his master Ammonius

* H. N. vii. 24.

and came into society, it is more than probable, that he ranked particularly with that sect. His writings, however, furnish us with many reasons for thinking, that he subsequently became a citizen of the philosophical world. He appears to have examined every sect with a calm and unprejudiced attention, to have selected what he found of use for the purposes of virtue and happiness, and to have left the rest for the portion of those, whose narrowness of mind could think either science or felicity confined to any denomination of men.

From the Academicians he took their modesty of opinion, and left them their original scepticism: he borrowed their rational theology, and gave up to them in a great measure their metaphysical refinements, together with their vain though seductive enthusiasm. With the Peripatetics he 'walked' in search of natural science, and of logic; but, satisfied with whatever practical knowledge might be acquired, he left them to dream over the hypothetical part of the former, and to chase the shadows of reason through the mazes of the latter. To the Stoics he was indebted for the belief of a particular Providence; but he could not enter into their idea of future rewards and punishments. He knew not how to reconcile the present agency of the Supreme Being with his judicial character hereafter; though Theodoret informs us, that he had heard of the Christian religion, and inserted several of its mysteries in his works*. From the Stoics, too, he borrowed the doctrine of fortitude: but he rejected the unnatural foundation, upon which they erected that virtue. For a better, he went to Socrates. With the Epicureans he does not seem to have had much intercourse, though the accommodating philosophy of Aristippus entered frequently into his politics, and sometimes into the general economy of his life. In

* Nothing however of Plutarch's is now extant, from which we can infer that he was acquainted with the Christian religion.

the little states of Greece, that philosophy had not much to do ; but, had it been adopted in the more violent measures of the Roman administration, our celebrated biographer would not have had such scenes of blood and ruin to describe ; for prejudice and opposition, upon whatever principles they might plead their apology, first struck out the fire that laid the commonwealth in ashes. If Plutarch borrowed any thing more from Epicurus, it was his rational idea of enjoyment. That such was his idea, it is more than probable ; for it is impossible to believe the tales, which the heathen bigots have told of him, or to suppose that the cultivated mind of a philosopher should pursue it's happiness out of the temperate order of nature. His irreligious opinions he left to him, as he had left to the other sects their vanities and absurdities.

But, when we bring him to the school of Pythagoras, what idea shall we entertain of him ? Shall we consider him any longer as an Academician, or as a citizen of the philosophical world ? Constitutionally benevolent and humane *, he there finds a system of divinity and philosophy perfectly adapted to his natural sentiments. The whole animal creation he had originally looked upon with an instinctive tenderness : but when the amiable Pythagoras, the priest of Nature, in defence of the common privileges of her creatures, had called religion into their cause ; when he sought to soften the cruelty, which man had exercised against them, by the honest art of insinuating the doctrine of transmigration, how could Plutarch refuse to serve under him ? It was impossible. He adopted the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. He entered into the merciful scheme of Pythagoras ; and like him diverted the cruelty

* ‘ He is remarkable for being one of the most humane writers of all antiquity ; less dazzled than many of them are with the exploits of valour and ambition, and fond of displaying his great men to us in the more gentle lights of retirement and private life.’ (Blair’s Lect. xxxvi.) E.

of the human species, by appealing to the selfish qualities of their nature, by subduing their pride and exciting their sympathy, while he showed them that their future existence might be the condition of a reptile.

This spirit and disposition break strongly from him, in his observations on the elder Cato. And, as nothing can exhibit a more lively picture of him than these paintings of his own, we shall not scruple to introduce them here: "For my part, I cannot but charge his using his servants like so many beasts of burthen, and turning them off or selling them when grown old, to the account of a mean and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that the sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice: the obligations of law and equity reach only to mankind, but mercy and beneficence should be extended to creatures of every species; and these still flow from the breast of a well-natured man, as streams that issue from a copious fountain. A good man will take care of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, but when old and past service. Thus the people of Athens, when they had finished the temple called Hecatompodon, set at liberty the beasts of burthen which had been chiefly employed in the work, suffering them to pasture at large, free from any farther service. It is said, that one of these subsequently came of its own accord to work, and placing itself at the head of the labouring cattle, marched before them to the citadel. This pleased the people, and they made a decree, that it should be kept at the public charge so long as it lived. The graves of Cimon's mares, with which he thrice conquered at the Olympic games, are still to be seen near his own tomb. Many have shown particular marks of regard in burying the dogs, which they have brought up and cherished; and among the rest Xanthippus of old, whose dog swam by the side of his galley to Salamis, when the Athenians were forced to aban-

don their city, and was subsequently interred by his master upon a promontory to this day called the 'Dog's Grave.' We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like shoes or household goods, which when worn out with use we throw away; and, were it only to teach benevolence toward human kind, we should be tender and merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would not sell even an old ox, which had laboured for me; much less would I banish, as it were, for the sake of a little money, a man grown old in my service, from his usual place and accustomed diet; since he could be of no more use to the buyer, than he was to the seller. But Cato, as if he took a pride in these things, informs us that, when consul, he left his war-horse in Spain, to save the public the charge of his freight. Whether such things as these are instances of greatness or littleness of soul, let the reader judge for himself* !"

What an amiable idea this extract gives us of our benevolent philosopher! How worthy the instructions of the Sage of Samos! How honourable to that master of truth and universal science, whose sentiments were decisive in every doubtful matter, and whose maxims were received with silent conviction†!

Wherefore should we wonder to find Plutarch more particularly attached to the opinions of this illustrious man! Whether we consider the immensity of his erudition, or the benevolence of his system, the motives for that attachment were equally powerful. Pythagoras had collected all the stores of human learning, and had reduced them into one rational and useful body of science. Like our own Bacon, he led philosophy forth from the jargon of schools, and the fopperies of sects. He made her what she was originally designed to be, the hand-maid of Nature; friendly to her creatures, and faith-

* Vol. II. 499.

† Val. Max. VIII. xv. 13.

ful to her laws. Whatever knowledge could be gained by human industry, by the most extensive inquiry and observation, he had every opportunity to obtain. The priests of Egypt unfolded to him their mysteries, and their learning: they led him through the records of the remotest antiquity, and opened all those stores of science, that had been amassing through a multitude of ages. With the priests of Egypt, the Magi of Persia co-operated in his instruction. They taught him those higher parts of science, by which they were themselves so much distinguished, astronomy and the system of the universe. The laws of moral life, and the institutions of civil societies, with their several excellences and defects, he learned from the various states and establishments of Greece. Thus accomplished, when he came to dispute in the Olympic contests, he was considered as a prodigy of wisdom and learning; but when the choice of his title was left to him, he modestly declined the appellation of ‘a wise man,’ and was contented only to be called ‘a lover of wisdom*.’

Shall not Plutarch then meet with all imaginable indulgence, if in his veneration for this celebrated character he not only adopted the nobler parts of his philosophy, but (what he had avoided with regard to the other sects) followed him likewise in his errors? Such, in particular, was his doctrine of dreams; to which our biographer, we must confess, has paid too much attention. Yet absolutely to condemn him for this would, perhaps, be hazarding as much as totally to defend him. We must acknowledge with the elder Pliny, *Si exemplis agatur, profectò paria fiant* †; or, in the language of honest Sir Roger de Coverley, “Much may be said on both sides ‡.” If Pliny however, whose complaisance for the credit of the marvellous in particular was very great, could be doubtful about this matter, we “of

* Val. Max. VIII. vii. 9.

† H. N. x. 75.

‡ Spect. N^o. 122.

little faith" may be allowed to be more so. Yet Plutarch, in his *Treatise on Oracles*, has maintained his doctrine by such powerful testimonies, that if any regard is to be paid to his veracity, some attention should be given to his opinion. We shall, therefore, leave the point in suspense.

When Zeno consulted the oracle, in what manner he should live, the answer was, that "He should inquire of the dead." Assiduous and indefatigable application to reading made a considerable part of the Greek education; and in this our biographer seems to have exerted the utmost industry. The number of books to which he has referred, and from which he has transcribed, seems almost incredible; when it is considered, that the art of printing was not known in his time, and that the purchase of manuscripts was difficult and dear.

His family, indeed, was not without wealth. In his *Symposiacs* he tells us, that it was ancient in Chæronea; and that his progenitors had been invested with the most considerable offices in the magistracy. He mentions in particular his great-grandfather Nicarchus, whom he had the happiness of knowing; and relates from his authority, the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens under the severe discipline of Antony's soldiers.

His grandfather Lamprias, he tells us, was a man of considerable eloquence, and of a brilliant imagination. He was distinguished by his merit as a convivial companion; and was one of those happy mortals who, when they sacrifice to Bacchus, are favoured by Mercury. His good-humour and pleasantries increased with his cups; and he used to say that wine had the same effect upon him that fire has upon incense, which causes the finest and richest essences to evaporate.

Plutarch has mentioned his father likewise; but he has not given us his name in any of those writings, that are come down to us. He has borne honourable testimony, however, to his memory; for

he tells us, that he was a learned and a virtuous man, well acquainted with the philosophy and theology of his time, and conversant with the works of the poets. Plutarch, in his Political Precepts, mentions an instance of his father's discretion, which does him great honour: "I remember," says he, "that I was sent, when a very young man, along with another citizen of Chæronea upon an embassy to the proconsul. My colleague being by some accident obliged to stop in the way, I proceeded without him, and executed our commission. Upon my return to Chæronea, when I was to give an account in public of my negociation, my father took me aside, and said; "My son, take care that, in the account which you are about to give, you do not mention yourself distinctly, but jointly with your colleague. Say not, 'I went,' 'I spoke,' 'I executed;' but 'we went,' 'we spoke,' 'we executed.' Thus, though your colleague was incapable of attending you, he will share in the honour of your success, as well as in that of your appointment; and you will avoid that envy, which necessarily follows all arrogated merit."

Plutarch had two brothers, whose names were Timon and Lamprias. These were his associates in study, and in amusement, and he always speaks of them with pleasure and affection. Of Timon in particular he says, "Though Fortune has upon many occasions been favourable to me, yet I have no obligations to her so strong, as the enjoyment of my brother Timon's invariable friendship and kindness." Lamprias too he mentions, as inheriting the lively disposition and good-humour of his grandfather, who bore the same name.

Some writers have asserted, that Plutarch passed into Egypt*. Others† allege, that there is no authority for that assertion: and it is true, that we

* Does it not appear from his Symposiaces, v. 5., that he did? *Ἐκείνος ὅστις ἡμᾶς ἤκουτας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, &c. τ. λ.* The time however of his voyage thither must be admitted to be uncertain. E.

† Dacier, in the Life of Plutarch.

have no written record concerning it. We incline nevertheless to believe, that he did travel into that country; because this tour was a part of liberal education among the Greeks, and Plutarch being descended from a family of distinction was, therefore, likely to enjoy such a privilege. His Treatise on Isis and Osiris likewise shows, that he had a more than common knowledge of the religious mysteries of the Egyptians; whence it is highly probable, that he had obtained this knowledge by being conversant among them. To have written a treatise on so abstruse a subject, without some more eminent advantages than other writers might afford him, could not have been agreeable to the genius, or consistent with the modesty, of Plutarch.

Supposing it doubtful however, whether or not he passed into Egypt, there is no doubt at all that he travelled into Italy. Upon what occasion he visited that country, it is not quite so certain; but he probably went to Rome, in a public capacity, on the business of the Chæroneans. For in the Life of Demosthenes he informs us, that he had no leisure in his journey to Italy to learn the Latin language, on account of public business.

As the passage here referred to affords us farther matter of speculation for the Life of Plutarch, we shall give it as we find it. “An author who would write a history of events that happened in a foreign country, and cannot be learned in his own, as he has his materials to collect from a variety of volumes dispersed in different libraries, should make it his first care to take up his residence in some respectable or populous town, which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books; and the particulars, that are wanting in writers, he may upon inquiry derive from those, who have stored them in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a small town; and I choose to live

there, lest it should become still smaller. When I was in Rome and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not therefore till a late period in life, that I began to read the Roman authors *.”

From this short account it appears, that, while he was resident in Rome, public business and lectures in philosophy† left him no time for learning the Latin language; and yet a little before he had observed that those, who write a history of foreign characters and events, ought to be conversant with the historians of that country, where the characters existed and the scene is laid; but he acknowledges, that he did not learn the Latin language till he was far advanced in life, because when at Rome he had not time for that purpose.

We may therefore conclude, that he wrote his *Morals* at Rome, and his *Lives* at Chæronea‡. For the composition of the former, the knowledge of the Roman language was not necessary: the Greek tongue was then generally understood in Rome; and he had no occasion to use any other, when he delivered his lectures of philosophy to the people. Those lectures, it is more than probable, made up that collection of *Morals*, which is come down to us.

Though he could not however avail himself of the Roman historians, in the great purpose of composing his *Lives*, for want of a competent acquaintance with the language in which they wrote; yet, by conversing with the principal citizens in the Greek tongue, he must have collected many essential circumstances and anecdotes of characters and events, that pro-

* V. 251.

† The Lectures were probably the bases of many of his *Moral Treatises*.

‡ That he wrote the *Lives* of Demosthenes and Cicero there, is clear from his own account. *Ib.*

moted his design and enriched the plan of his work. These treasures he secured by means of a commonplace book, which he constantly carried about with him : and as it appears that he was at Rome, and in other parts of Italy, from the beginning of Vespasian's to the end of Trajan's reign, he must have had sufficient time and means to procure materials of every kind ; for this was a period of almost forty years. (A. D. 81—118.)

We shall the more readily enter into the belief, that Plutarch collected his materials chiefly from conversation, when we consider in what manner and upon what subjects the ancients used to converse. The discourse of people of education and distinction, in those days, was somewhat different from that of our's. It was not on the powers, or the pedigree, of a horse ; it was not on a match of travelling between geese and turkies ; it was not on a race of maggots, started against each other on the table, when they first came to day-light from the shell of a filbert ; it was not, by what part you may suspend a spaniel the longest without making him whine ; it was not on the exquisite finesse, and the highest manœuvres, of play. The old Romans had no ambition for attainments of this nature. They had no such masters in science, as Heber and Hoyle : the taste of their times did not run that way. The powers of poetry and philosophy, the economy of human life and manners, the cultivation of the intellectual faculties, the enlargement of the mind, historical and political discussions on the events of their country—these, and such subjects as these, made the principal part of their conversation. Of this Plutarch has given us at once a proof and a specimen, in what he calls his *Symposiacs*, or as our Selden denominates it, *Table-Talk*. From conversations like these, then, we cannot wonder that he was able to collect such treasures, as were necessary for the maintenance of his biographical undertaking.

In the sequel of the last-quoted passage, we find

another argument (above referred to), which confirms us in the opinion, that Plutarch's knowledge of the Roman history was chiefly of colloquial acquisition. "My method of learning the Roman language," says he, "may seem strange; and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by words, as words by the knowledge which I had of things*." This plainly implies, that he was previously acquainted with the events described in the language, which he was learning.

It must be owned that the Roman History had been already written in Greek by Polybius; and that, indeed, somewhat invalidates the last-mentioned argument. Nevertheless, it has still sufficient evidence for its support. There are a thousand circumstances in Plutarch's Lives, which could not be collected from Polybius; and it is clear to us, that he did not make much use of his Latin reading.

He acknowledges, that he did not apply himself to the acquisition of that language, till he was far advanced in life: possibly it might be about the latter part of the reign of Trajan, whose kind disposition toward his country rendered the weight of public and political business easy to him.

But, whenever he might begin the study, it is certain that he made no considerable progress in it. This appears, as well from the little comments which he has occasionally given us on certain Latin words, as from some passages in his Lives; where he has professedly followed the Latin historians, and yet followed them in an uncertain and erroneous manner.

A circumstance arises here, which confirms to us an opinion we have long entertained, that the Book of Apophthegms, said to have been written by Plutarch, is really not his work. This book is dedicated to Trajan; and the dedicator, assuming the name and character of Plutarch, affirms that he had before

this written the *Lives of Illustrious Men*: but Plutarch, as we have concluded above, wrote those *Lives* at Chæronea; and he did not retire to Chæronea, till after Trajan's death.

There are other proofs, if others were necessary, to show that this work was supposititious. For in this dedication to Trajan not the least mention is made of Plutarch's having been his preceptor, of his having been raised by him to the consular dignity, or of his having been appointed governor of Illyria. Dacier, observing this, has drawn a wrong conclusion from it; and, contrary to the assertion of Suidas, will have it that Plutarch was neither preceptor to Trajan, nor honoured with any appointments under him. Had it occurred to him, that the *Book of Apophthegms* could not be Plutarch's book, but that it was merely an extract made from his real works by some industrious grammarian, he would not have been under the necessity of hazarding so much against the received opinion of his connexions with Trajan; neither would he have found it necessary to allow so little credit to his letter addressed to that emperor, which we have upon record*.

- * The letter is as follows:

PLUTARCH TO TRAJAN.

‘I AM sensible, that you sought not the empire. Your natural modesty would not suffer you to apply for a distinction, to which you were always entitled by the excellence of your manners. That modesty, however, makes you still more worthy of those honours, which you had no ambition to solicit. Should your future government prove in any degree answerable to your former merit, I shall have reason to congratulate both your virtue and my own good-fortune on this great event. But, if otherwise, you have exposed yourself to danger, and me to obloquy: for Rome will never endure an emperor unworthy of her; and the faults of the scholar will be imputed to the master. Seneca is reproached, and his fame still suffers, for the vices of Nero: the reputation of Quintilian is hurt by the ill conduct of his scholars; and even Socrates is accused of negligence in the education of Alcibiades. Of you, however, I have better hopes, and flatter myself that your administration will do honour to your virtues. Only continue to be, what you are. Let your government commence in your own breast;

Neither shall we find it any very difficult matter to account for his connexion with Trajan, if we consider the manner in which he lived, and the reception which he met with, in Rome. During his residence in that city, his house was the resort of the principal citizens. All that were distinguished by their rank, taste, learning, or politeness, sought his conversation, and attended his lectures. The study of the Greek language and philosophy was, at that time, the greatest pursuit of the Roman nobility, and even the emperors honoured the most celebrated professors with their presence and support. Plutarch in his Treatise on Curiosity has introduced a circumstance, which places the attention paid to his lectures in a very strong light: "It once happened," says he, "that when I was speaking in public at Rome, Arulenus Rusticus, the same whom Domitian through envy of his growing reputation subsequently put to death, was one of my hearers. While I was in the middle of my discourse, a soldier came in, and brought him a letter from the emperor. Upon this, there was a general silence throughout the audience, and I stopped to give him time to peruse it: but he would not suffer it; neither did he open the letter, till I had finished my lecture, and the assembly was dispersed."

To understand the importance of this compliment, it will be necessary to consider the quality and cha-

and lay the foundation of it in the command of your passions. If you make virtue the rule of your conduct, and the end of your actions, every thing will proceed in harmony and order. I have explained to you the spirit of those laws and constitutions, which were established by your predecessors; and you have nothing to do, but to carry them into execution. If this should be the case, I shall have the glory of having formed an emperor to virtue; but, if otherwise, let this letter remain a testimony with succeeding ages, that you did not ruin the Roman empire under the shelter of the counsels or the authority of Plutarch.

Why Dacier should think that this letter is neither worthy of the pen, nor written in the manner of Plutarch, it is not easy to conceive; for it has all the spirit, the manly freedom, and the sentimental turn of that philosopher.

racter of the person, who paid it. Arulenus was one of the chief men in Rome, distinguished as well by the lustre of his family, as by an honourable ambition and thirst of glory. He was tribune of the people, when Nero caused Pætus and Soranus to be capitally condemned by a decree of the senate. While Soranus was deliberating with his friends, whether he should attempt or give up his defence, Arulenus in his capacity of tribune had the spirit to propose an opposition to the decree of the senate; and he would have carried it into execution, had he not been over-ruled by Pætus, who remonstrated that by such a measure he would destroy himself, without the satisfaction of having served his friend. He was afterward prætor under Vitellius, whose interest he followed with the utmost fidelity. But his spirit and magnanimity do him the highest honour, in that eulogy which he wrote upon Pætus and Helvidius Priscus. His whole conduct was regulated by the precepts of philosophy; and the respect, which he showed to Plutarch upon this occasion, was a proof of his attachment to it. Such was the man, who to the lecture of a philosopher postponed the letter of a prince.

But Plutarch was not only treated with general marks of distinction by the superior people in Rome: he had particular, and very respectable friendships. Sossius Senecio, who was four times consul (once under Nerva, and thrice under Trajan), was his most intimate friend. To him he addresses his *Lives*, except that of Aratus, which is inscribed to Polycrates of Sicyon, the grandson of Aratus. With Senecio he not only lived in the strictest friendship while he was in Rome, but corresponded with him after he had retired to Greece. And is it not easy to believe that, through the interest of this zealous and powerful friend, he might not only be appointed tutor to Trajan, but be advanced likewise to the consular dignity * ?

* Most probably of the honorary kind, then in use. E.

When we consider Plutarch's eminence in Rome, as a teacher of philosophy, nothing can be more probable than the former: and, when we remember the consular interest of Senecio under Trajan, nothing can be more likely than the latter.

The honour of having been preceptor to such a virtuous prince as Trajan is so important a point in the life of Plutarch, that it must not hastily be given up*. Suidas has asserted it: the letter above-quoted, if it be (as we have no doubt of it's being) the genuine composition of Plutarch, has confirmed it. Petrarch has maintained it. Dacier alone has doubted, or rather denied it. But upon what evidence has he grounded his opinion? Plutarch, he says, was but three or four years older than Trajan, and therefore was unfit to be his preceptor in philosophy. Now, let us inquire into the force of this argument. Trajan spent the early part of his life in arms; Plutarch in the study of the sciences. When that prince applied himself to literary pursuits, he was somewhat advanced in life: Plutarch must have been more so. And why a man of science should be an unfit preceptor in philosophy to a military man, though only four years older, it will surely be somewhat difficult to discover.

Dacier, moreover, is reduced to a *petitio principii*, when he says that Plutarch was only four years older than Trajan: for we have seen, that it is impossible to ascertain the time of Plutarch's birth; and the date, which Dacier assigns to it, is purely conjectural. We will therefore conclude, with those learned men who have formerly allowed Plutarch the honour of being preceptor to Trajan, that he certainly was so. There is little doubt, that they grounded their assertions upon proper authority;

* M. Ricard supposes, as he has scrupulously detailed his Chæro-nean honours, and probably therefore would not have failed to speak of such as he had received at Rome, that he might during his abode in the latter city have given private lessons to Trajan, either before or after his mounting the throne of the world. E.

and indeed the internal evidence arising from the nature and effect of that education, which did equal honour to the scholar and to the master, comes in aid of the argument.

Some chronologers have taken upon them to ascertain the precise time, when Plutarch's fame was established in Rome. Peter of Alexandria fixes it in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, in the consulate of Capito and Rufus: "Lucian," says he, "was at this time in high reputation among the Romans; and Musonius and Plutarch were well known." Eusebius brings it one year lower, and tells us that, in the fourteenth year of Nero's reign, Musonius and Plutarch were in great vogue. But these writers are palpably mistaken. We have seen that in the twelfth year of Nero, Plutarch was yet at school under Ammonius; and it is not very probable, that a school-boy should be celebrated as a philosopher in Rome, within a year or two afterward. Eusebius, indeed, contradicts himself; for, on another occasion, he places him in the reign of Hadrian, A. D. 120. "In this year," says he, "the philosophers Plutarch of Chæronea, Sextus, and Agathobulus flourished." Here he carries him as much too low, as he had before placed him too high. It is certain, that he first attained celebrity under the reign of Vespasian, and that his philosophical fame was established in the time of Trajan.

It seems, that the Greek and Latin writers of those times were either little acquainted with each other's works, or that there were some literary jealousies and animosities between them. When Plutarch flourished, there were several contemporary writers of distinguished abilities; Persius, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, the younger Pliny, Solinus, Martial, Quintilian, and many more. Yet none of those have made the least mention of him. Was this envy; or was it Roman pride? Possibly, they could not bear that a Greek sophist, a native of such a contemptible town as Chæronea, should enjoy the

palm of literary praise in Rome. It must be observed, at the same time, that the principal Roman writers had conceived a jealousy of the Greek philosophers, which was very prevalent in that age. Of this, we find a strong testimony in the elder Pliny; where speaking of Cato the Censor's disapproving and dismissing the Grecian orators, and of the younger Cato's bringing in triumph a sophist from Greece, he exclaims in terms that signified contempt, *Quanta morum commutatio!*

To be undistinguished, however, by the encomiums of contemporary writers, was by no means a thing peculiar to Plutarch. It has been, and still is, the fate of superior genius, to be beheld either with silent or abusive envy. It makes it's way like the sun, which we look upon with pain, unless something passes over him that obscures his glory. We then view with eagerness the shadow, the cloud, or the spot; and are pleased with what eclipses the brightness, which we otherwise cannot bear.

Yet if Plutarch, like other great men, found "Envy never conquered but by death," his *manes* have been appeased by the amplest atonements. Among the many*, that have done honour to his memory, the following eulogiums deserve to be recorded:

Aulus Gellius compliments him with the highest distinction in science†; Taurus quoted by Gellius, calls him 'a man of the most consummate learning and wisdom‡'; Eusebius places him at the head of the Greek philosophers||; Sardonianus, in his Preface to the Lives of the Philosophers, calls him 'the most divine Plutarch, the beauty and harmony of

* Of these see a very complete catalogue in Wyttenbach's Preface above-quoted, iii. sect. 1. *Index scriptorum veteris et medii ævi*, Sec. I.—XV. In this list, it has been well observed, the professor 'gives a perfect specimen of the mode of exhibiting that kind of historical science, on which we must ground our belief of the genuineness and authenticity of the ancient authors.' (Edinb. Rev. ii. 220.) E.

† iv. 7.

‡ i. 26.

|| Præp. iii. init.

philosophy ;' and Petrarch, in his moral writings, frequently distinguishes him by the title of ' the great Plutarch.'

Honour has been done to him likewise by Origen, Himerius the Sophist, Cyrillus, Theodoret, Suidas, Photius, Xiphilinus, Joannes Sarisberiensis, Victorius, Lipsius, and Agathias, in the epigram which may be thus translated :

This grateful statue, Chæronean sage,
Dread Rome erects, a tribute to thy page ;
Because both Greece and she it's toils have shared,
Their chiefs recorded, and their lives compared.
But thou thyself could'st never write thine own :
Their lives have parallels, but thine has none.

But this is perfectly extravagant. We are much better pleased with the Greek verses of the honest metropolitan, under Constantine Monomachus. They deserve to be translated :

Lord of that light, that living power to save,
Which her lost sons no Heathen Science gave.
If aught of these thy mercy means to spare,
Yield Plato, Lord, yield PLUTARCH to my prayer,
Led by no grace, no new conversion wrought,
They felt thine own divinity of thought.
That grace exerted, spare the partial rod :
The last best witness, that thou art their God !

Theodore Gaza, who was a man of considerable learning, and an eminent reviver of letters, had a particular attachment to our biographer. When he was asked, in case of a general destruction of books, " What author he would wish to save from the ruin ?" He answered, " Plutarch." He considered his historical and philosophical writings, as the most beneficial to society ; and, of course, the best substitute for all other books.

Were it necessary to produce farther suffrages for the merit of Plutarch, it would be sufficient to say, that he has been praised by Montaigne *, by St.

* See Essay xxv. &c. To these may be added Rousseau, Confess. i., and Réver. du Prom. Solit. iv.

Evremond, and by Montesquieu, the best critics and the ablest writers of their time.

After having received the most distinguished honours that a philosopher could enjoy, after the god-like office of teaching wisdom and goodness to the metropolis of the world, after having formed an emperor to virtue, and after beholding the effects of his precepts in the happiness of human kind, Plutarch retired to his native country. The death of his illustrious prince and pupil, to a man of his sensibility, must have rendered Rome even painful: for, whatever influence philosophy may have on the cultivation of the mind, we find that it has very little power over the interests of the heart.

It must have been in the decline of life, that Plutarch returned to Chæronea*. But, though he withdrew from the busier scenes of the world, he fled not to an unprofitable or inactive solitude. In that retirement he formed the great work, for which he had so long been preparing materials, his *Lives of Illustrious Men*; a work which, as Scaliger says, *non solum fuit in manibus hominum, at etiam humani generis memoriam occupavit.*

To recommend by encomiums what has been received with universal approbation, would be superfluous. But to observe, where the biographer has excelled, and in what he has failed; to make a

* Ruault thinks he must have passed 40 years (30—70) at Rome, to enable him to acquire the Roman information displayed more fully in his *Lives*, and occasionally in his *Moral Works*, his *Roman Questions*, &c. But this surely is not very probable from what he says in the *Life of Demosthenes* (see p. xlii.) about his wanting ‘leisure to learn the Latin language,’ which under the most urgent circumstances such a long period must have afforded; and as the study of the manners and customs of the Romans, from their connexion with Grecian history, must have formed part of his education, M. Dacier (in Ricard’s opinion, much more reasonably) concludes he did not spend at Rome more than two or three and twenty years, and that broken by occasional visits to Chæronea. If indeed he had returned till he was 70, as he must then have felt his life drawing to a close, how could he affect to *choose to live in a small town*; or how announce himself, in his Εἰ προσεύτερον πολιτεύεσθαι, as still abundantly equal to the fatigues of his active priesthood? E.

due estimate as well of the defects, as of the merits of his work, may have it's use.

Lipsius has observed, that he does not write history, but scraps of history; *non historiam, sed particulas historiæ*. This is said of his Lives, and in one sense it is true. No single Life, that he has written, will afford a sufficient history of it's proper period; neither was it possible, that it should do so. As his plan comprised a number of contemporary Lives, most of which were in public characters, the business of their period was to be divided among them. The general history of the time was to be thrown into separate portions; and those portions were to be allotted to such characters, as had the principal interest in the several events.

Yet these scraps of history thus divided and dispersed, when seen in a collective form, make no very imperfect narrative of the times within their view. The biographer's attention to the minuter circumstances of character, his disquisitions on principles and manners, and his political and philosophical discussions, lead us in an easy and intelligent manner to the events which he describes.

It is not to be denied, that his narratives are sometimes disorderly, and too often encumbered with impertinent digressions. By pursuing with too much indulgence the train of ideas, he has frequently destroyed the order of facts, brought together events that lay at a distance from each other, called forward circumstances to which he should have made a regular progress, and made no other apology for those idle excursions, but by telling us that he is out of the order of time.

Notes, in the time of Plutarch, were not in use. Had he known the convenience of marginal writing, he would certainly have thrown the greatest part of his digressions into that form. They are, undoubtedly, tedious and disgusting; and all we can do to reconcile ourselves to them is to remember that, in the first place, marginal writing was a thing un-

known ; and that the benevolent desire of conveying instruction was his chief motive for introducing them. This appears from their very nature ; for they are, principally, disquisitions in natural history and philosophy.

In painting the manners of men, Plutarch is truly excellent. Nothing can be more clear than his moral distinctions, nothing finer than his delineations of the mind.

The spirit of philosophical observation and inquiry, which when properly directed is the great ornament and excellence of historical composition, Plutarch possessed in an eminent degree. His biographical writings teach philosophy, at once, by precept and by example. His morals and his characters mutually explain and give force to each other.

His sentiments of the duty of a biographer were peculiarly just and delicate. This will appear from his strictures upon those historians, who wrote of Philistus : “ It is plain,” he observes, “ that Timæus seizes every occasion, from Philistus’ zealous adherence to arbitrary power, of loading him with the keenest reproaches. Those whom he injured at some degree excusable, if in their resentment they treated him with indignities after death. But wherefore should his biographers, whom he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his works, condemn him with all the exaggerations of scurrility in those scenes of distress, to which Fortune sometimes reduces the best of men ? Ephorus, on the other hand, is no less extravagant in his encomiums on Philistus. He knows well how to throw into shades the foibles of the human character, and to give an air of plausibility to the most indefensible conduct : but, with all his eloquence and art, he cannot rescue Philistus from the imputation of having been the most strenuous assertor of despotism, and the fondest follower and admirer of the luxury, the power, the magnificence, and the alliance of tyrants. Upon the whole, he who neither defends the principles of Philistus, nor

insults over his misfortunes, will best discharge the duty of the historian*.”

There is such a thing as constitutional religion. There is a certain temper and frame of mind, naturally productive of devotion. There are men, who are born with the original principles of piety; and in this class we need not hesitate to place Plutarch. If this disposition has sometimes made him too indulgent to superstition, and too attentive to the less rational circumstances of the heathen theology, it is not to be wondered at. But, upon the whole, he had consistent and honourable notions of the Supreme Being.

That he believed the unity of the Divine Nature, we have already seen in his observations on the word *εἰς* engraved on Apollo's temple. The same opinion, too, is to be found in his Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles; where, in the character of a Platonist, he argues against the Stoics, who denied the plurality of worlds: “If there are many worlds (said the Stoics) why then is there only one Fate, and one Providence to guide them; for the Platonists allow, that there is but one? Why should many Jupiters, or gods, be necessary for the government of many worlds?” To this Plutarch answers, “Where is the necessity of supposing many Jupiters for this plurality of worlds? Is not one Excellent Being, endued with reason and intelligence, such as He whom we acknowledge to be the Father and Lord of all things, sufficient to direct and rule these worlds? If there were more supreme agents, their decrees might be vain, and contradictory to each other.”

But, though Plutarch acknowledged the individuality of the Supreme Being, he believed nevertheless in the existence of intermediate beings of an inferior order, between the divine and the human nature. These beings he calls *Genii*, or *Dæmons*. It is

* Life of Dion, VI. 35. E.

impossible, he thinks, from the general order and principles of creation, that there should be no mean between the two extremes of a mortal and immortal being; that there cannot be in nature so great a vacuum, without some intermediate species of life, which might in some measure partake of both. And, as we find the connexion between soul and body to be made by means of the animal spirits, so these dæmons are intelligences between divinity and humanity. Their nature, however, is believed to be progressive. At first they are supposed to have been virtuous men, whose souls being refined from the gross parts of their former existence are admitted into the higher order of Genii; and are thence either raised to a more exalted mode of ethereal being, or degraded to mortal forms, according to their merit or their degeneracy. One order of these Genii, he supposes, presided over oracles; others administered under the Supreme Being the affairs and the fortunes of men, supporting the virtuous, punishing the bad, and sometimes even communicating with the best and purest natures. Thus the Genius of Socrates still warned him of approaching danger, and taught him to avoid it.

It is this order of beings, which the late Mr. Thomson, who in enthusiasm was a Platonist and in benevolence a Pythagorean, has so beautifully described in his *Seasons*: and, as if the good bard had believed the doctrine, he pathetically invokes a favourite spirit, which had lately forsaken it's former mansion:

And art thou, STANLEY, of that sacred band?

Alas! for us too soon!——

Such were Plutarch's religious principles; and as a proof that he thought them of consequence, he entered after his retirement into a sacred character, and was consecrated priest of Apollo.

This was not his sole appointment, when he returned to Chæronea. He united the sacerdotal with

the magistratual character*, and devoted himself at once to the service of the gods, and to the duties of society. He did not think that philosophy, or the pursuit of letters, ought to exempt any man from personal service in the community, to which he belonged; and, though his literary labours were of the utmost importance to the world, he sought no excuse in those, from discharging offices of public trust in his little city of Chæronea.

It appears that he passed through several of these offices, and that he was at last appointed Archon, or chief magistrate of the city. Whether or not he retained his superintendency of Illyria after the death of Trajan, we do not certainly know: but in this humble sphere, it will be worth our while to inquire in what manner a philosopher would administer justice.

With regard to the inferior offices that he bore, he looked upon them in the same light as Epaminondas had done; who, when he was appointed to a commission beneath his rank, observed, “That no office could give dignity to him that held it; but that he, who held it, might give dignity to any office.” It is not unentertaining to hear our philosopher apologise for his employment, when he discharges the office of commissioner of sewers and public buildings: “I make no doubt,” says he, “that the citizens of Chæronea often smile, when they see me employed in such offices as these. Upon such occasions, I generally call to mind what is said of Antisthenes. When he was bringing home in his own hands a dirty fish from the market, some observers expressed their surprise; ‘It is for myself (said Antisthenes) that I carry this fish.’ On the contrary, when I am rallied for measuring tiles, or for calculating a quantity of stones or mortar, I an-

* He was elected Archon, τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔρχεν, Sympos. ii. 10. Of his integrity and ability in discharging his official duties some judgement may be formed from the rules which he lays down in his Πολιτικὰ Παράγγελματὰ for the conduct of other public functionaries. E.

swer, that it is not for myself I do these things, but for my country. For, in all things of this nature, the public utility takes off the disgrace ; and, the meaner the office you sustain, the greater is the compliment which you pay to the community."

Plutarch, in his capacity of magistrate, was indefatigable in recommending unanimity to the citizens. To carry this point more effectually, he lays it down as a first principle, that a magistrate should be affable and easy of access ; that his house should be always open, as a place of refuge for those who sought for justice ; and that he should not satisfy himself merely with allotting certain hours of the day to sit for the despatch of business, but that he should employ a part of his time in private negotiations, in making up domestic quarrels, and reconciling divided friends. This employment he regarded as one of the principal parts of his office, and indeed he might properly consider it in a political light ; for it too frequently happens, that the most dangerous public factions are at first kindled by private misunderstandings. Thus, in one part of his works, he falls into the same sentiment : " As public conflagrations," he remarks, " do not uniformly begin in public edifices, but are caused more frequently by some lamp neglected in a private house ; so, in the administration of states, it does not always happen that the flame of sedition arises from political differences, but from private dissensions, which running through a long chain of connexions at length affect the whole body of the people. For this reason, it is one of the principal duties of a minister of state, or magistrate, to heal these private animosities, and to prevent them from growing into public divisions." After these observations, he mentions several states and cities, which had owed their ruin to the same little causes ; and then adds, that we ought not by any means to be inattentive to the misunderstandings of private men, but apply to them the most timely remedies ; for by proper care, as Cato observes,

what is great becomes little, and what is little is reduced to nothing. Of the truth of these observations the annals of our own country, we wish we had no reason to say of our own times, have presented us with many melancholy instances.

As Plutarch observed that it was a fashionable fault among men of fortune, to refuse a proper respect to magistrates of inferior rank, he endeavoured to remove this impolitic evil as well by precept as by example : " To learn obedience and deference to the magistrate," says he, " is one of the first and best principles of discipline ; neither ought these in any instance to be dispensed with, though that magistrate should be inferior to us in figure or in fortune. For how absurd is it, if in theatrical exhibitions the meanest actor, that wears a momentary diadem, shall receive his due respect from superior players ; and yet, in civil life, men of higher power or wealth shall withhold the deference due to the magistrate ! In this case however they should remember that, while they consult their own importance, they detract from the honour of the state. Private dignity ought always to give place to public authority ; as, in Sparta, it was usual for the kings to rise in compliment to the ephori."

With regard to Plutarch's political principles, it is clear that he was, even while at Rome, a republican in heart and a friend to liberty : but this does him no peculiar honour. Such privileges are the birth-right of mankind ; and they are never parted with, but through fear or favour. At Rome, he acted like a philosopher of the world. *Quando noi siamo in Roma, noi facciamo come eglino fanno in Roma.* He found a constitution, which he had not power to alter ; yet, though he could not make mankind free, he made them comparatively happy, by teaching clemency to their temporary ruler.

At Chæronea, we find him more openly avowing the principles of liberty. During his residence at Rome, he had remarked an essential error in the

police. In all complaints and processes, however trifling, the people had recourse to the first officers of state. By such means, they supposed, their interest would be promoted; but it had a certain tendency to enslave them still more, and to render them the tools and dependents of court-power. Of these measures the archon of Chæronea thus expresses his disapprobation: "At the same time," he observes, "that we endeavour to render a city obedient to it's magistrates, we must beware of reducing it to a condition too humiliating. Those, who carry every trifle to the cognisance of the supreme magistrate, are contributing all they can to the servitude of their country." And it is undoubtedly true, that the habitual and universal exertion of authority has a natural tendency to arbitrary dominion.

We have now considered Plutarch in the light of a philosopher, a biographer, and a magistrate; we have entered into his moral, religious, and political character, as well as the information which we could obtain would enable us. It only remains, that we view him in the domestic sphere of life; that little but trying sphere, where we act wholly from ourselves, and assume no character, but that which nature and education have given us.

Dacier, in entering upon this part of Plutarch's history, has made a whimsical observation: "There are two cardinal points," says he, "in a man's life, which determine his happiness or his misery. These are his birth, and his marriage. It is in vain for a man to be born fortunate, if he be unfortunate in his marriage." How Dacier could reconcile the astrologers to this new doctrine, it is not easy to say; for upon this principle a man must at least have two good stars, one for his birth-day, the other for his wedding-day; as it seems that the influence of the natal star could not extend beyond the bridal morn, but that a man then falls under a different dominion.

At what time Plutarch entered into this state, we are not quite certain ; but as it is not probable that a man of his wisdom would marry at an advanced time of life, and as his wife was a native of Chæroneæ, we may conclude that he married before he went to Rome. However that might be, it appears that he was fortunate in his choice ; for his wife was not only well-born and well-bred, but a woman of distinguished sense and virtue. Her name was Timoxena.

Plutarch appears to have had at least five children by her, four sons and a daughter, whom, out of regard for her mother, he called Timoxena. He has given us a proof, that he had all the tenderness of an affectionate father for these children, by recording a little instance of his daughter's natural benevolence : " When she was very young," he informs us, " she would frequently beg of her nurse to give the breast not only to the other children, but to her babies and dolls, which she considered as her dependents and under her protection." Who does not see, in this simple circumstance, at once the fondness of the parent and the benevolence of the man ?

But the philosopher soon lost his little blossom of humanity. His Timoxena died in her infancy ; and if we may judge from the consolatory letter, which he wrote to her mother upon the occasion, he bore the loss as became a philosopher : " Consider," said he, " that death has deprived your Timoxena only of small enjoyments. The things, which she knew, were but of little consequence, and she could be delighted only with trifles." In this letter we find a portrait of his wife *, which does her the greatest honour. From the testimony given by her husband it appears, that she was far above the general weakness and affectation of her sex. She had no passion for the expensiveness of dress, or the parade of

* If (as M. Dacier supposes) the sketch given in his *Επιγραφή* be taken from his domestic experience, how happy he must have been ! V.

public appearances. She thought every kind of excess blameable; and her ambition went not beyond the decencies and proprieties of life.

Plutarch had before this buried two of his sons, his eldest, and a younger named Charon; and it appears from the above-mentioned letter that the conduct of Timoxena, on both these events, was worthy the wife of a philosopher. She did not disfigure herself by change of apparel, or give way to the extravagance of grief, as women in general do upon such occasions; but supported the dispensations of Providence with a solemn and rational submission, even when they seemed to be most severe. She had taken unwearied pains, and undergone the severest sufferings, to nurse her son Charon at her own breast, at a time when an abscess formed near the part had obliged her to undergo an incision. Yet when the child, reared with so much tender pain and difficulty, died, those who went to visit her on the melancholy occasion found her house in no more disorder, than if nothing distressful had happened. She received her friends, as Hercules was received by Admetus; who, the same day that he buried Alceste, betrayed not the least confusion before his heroic guest.

With a woman of so much dignity of mind, and excellence of disposition, a man of Plutarch's wisdom and humanity must have been infinitely happy: and it appears indeed from those precepts of conjugal happiness and affection, which he has left us, that he has drawn his observations from experience, and that the rules which he recommended had been previously exemplified in his own family.

It is said, that Plutarch had some misunderstanding with his wife's relations; upon which Timoxena, fearing that it might affect their union, had duty and religion enough to go as far as Mount Helicon and sacrifice to Love, who had a celebrated temple there.

He left two sons, Plutarch and Lamprias. The

latter appears to have been a philosopher, and to him we are indebted for a catalogue of his father's writings; which however one cannot look upon (as Mr. Dryden says) without the same emotions, that a merchant must feel in perusing a bill of freight, after he has lost his vessel. The writings no longer extant are these:

The Lives of	{ Hercules, Hesiod, Pindar, Crates and Daïphantus, with a Parallel, Leonidas, Aristomenes, Scipio Africanus II. and Metellus, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Vitellius, Epaminondas and Scipio Africanus I., with a Parallel.
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Four Books of Commentaries on Homer.

Four Books of Commentaries on Hesiod.

Five Books to Empedocles, on the Quintessence.

Five Books of Essays.

Three Books of Fables.

Three Books of Rhetoric.

Three Books on the Introduction of the Soul.

Two Books of Extracts from the Philosophers.

Three Books on Sense.

Three Books on the great Actions of Cities.

Two Books on Politics.

An Essay on Opportunity, to Theophrastus.

Four Books on the Obsolete Parts of History.

Two Books of Proverbs.

Eight Books on the Topics of Aristotle.

Three Books on Justice, to Chrysippus.

An Essay on Poetry.

A Dissertation on the Difference between the Pyrrhonists and the Academicians.

A Treatise to prove, that there was but one Academy of Plato.

Aulus Gellius has taken a long story from Taurus, about Plutarch's method of correcting a slave, in which there is nothing more than this, that he punished him like a philosopher, and gave him his discipline without being out of temper.

Plutarch had a nephew named Sextus, who bore a considerable reputation in the world of letters, and taught the Greek language and learning to Marcus Antoninus. The character which that philosopher has given him, in his First Book of Reflexions, may with great propriety be applied to his uncle: "Sextus, by his example, taught me mildness and humanity; to govern my house, like a good father of a family; to fall into an easy and unaffected gravity of manners; to live agreeably to nature; to find out the art of discovering, and preventing, the wants of my friends; to connive at the noisy follies of the ignorant and impertinent; and to comply with the understandings and the humours of men."

One of the rewards of philosophy is long life, and this it is clear that Plutarch enjoyed; but of the time, or the circumstances, of his death we have no satisfactory account.



TABLES

OF

TIME, COINS, WEIGHTS, MEASURES, &c.

The GRECIAN Months,

With their English Equivalents, from Potter's Archæol. Gr. II. xxvi.

N. B. M. Petau, in his *Doctrina Temporum*, l. 9. places them nearly three months farther downward.

It should be noted, that they consisted of 30 and 29 days alternately.

Hecatombæon	= the latter half of June, and the first half of July.
Metageitnion	July, Aug.
Boëdromion	August, Sep.
Mæmacterion	September, Oct.
Pyanepsion	October, Nov.
Anthesterion*	November, Dec.
Poseideon	December, Jan.
Gamelion	January, Feb.
Elaphebolion	February, March.
Munychion	March, April.
Thargelion	April, May.
Scirrophorion	May, June.

* This month is placed after Gamelion by Petau and Scaliger.

For the modes of computing the days of each month, see Potter, ib.

The ROMAN Calendar.
(See Adam's Rom. Antiq. pp. 330, 331.)

Days of the Month	April, June, Sept. Nov.	Jan. August, December.	March, May, July, October.	February.
1	Kalendæ.	Kalendæ.	Kalendæ.	Kalendæ.
2	iv. $\frac{1}{2}$ (sc. die ante nonas)	iv.	vi.	iv.
3	iii.	iii.	v.	iii.
4	Pridie Non.	Pridie Non.	iv.	Pridie Non.
5	Nonæ.	Nonæ.	iii.	Nonæ.
6	viii. $\frac{1}{2}$ (sc. die ante Id.)	viii.	Pridie Non.	viii.
7	vii.	vii.	Nonæ.	vii.
8	vi.	vi.	viii.	vi.
9	v.	v.	vii.	v.
10	iv.	iv.	vi.	iv.
11	iii.	iii.	v.	iii.
12	Pridie Id.	Pridie Id.	iv.	Pridie Id.
13	Idus.	Idus.	iii.	Idus.
14	xviii. $\frac{1}{2}$ (sc. die ante Kal. mens. seq.)	xix.	Pridie Id.	xvi.
15	xvii.	xviii.	Idus.	xv.
16	xvi.	xvii.	xvii.	xiv.
17	xv.	xvi.	xvi.	xiii.
18	xiv.	xv.	xv.	xii.
19	xiii.	xiv.	xiv.	xi.
20	xii.	xiii.	xiii.	x.
21	xi.	xii.	xii.	ix.
22	x.	xi.	xi.	viii.
23	ix.	x.	x.	vii.
24	viii.	ix.	ix.	vi.*
25	vii.	viii.	viii.	v.
26	vi.	vii.	vii.	iv.
27	v.	vi.	vi.	iii.
28	iv.	v.	v.	Pridie Kal.
29	iii.	iv.	iv.	
30	Pridie Kal. mens. seq.	iii.	iii.	
31		Pridie Kal.	Pridie Kal.	

* This was reduplicated in a leap-year, both the 24th and 25th days of February being denominated *sexto Kalendas Martias*, whence the name 'Bissextile.'

The Values and Proportions of GRECIAN Coins.

							<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>q.</i>	<i>γ.</i>
Lepton	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	0	0	0	$\frac{3}{32}$
7	Chalcus	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	0	0	0	$\frac{3}{4}$
14	2	Dichalcus	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{7}{8}$
28	4	2	Hemiobolus	.....	.....	.....	0	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{7}{8}$
56	8	4	2	Obolus*	.....	.....	0	0	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{6}$
336	48	24	12	6	Drachma	.....	0	0	7	$\frac{3}{4}$	
33,600	4,800	2,400	1,200	600	100	Mina	.....	3	4	7	
2,016,000	288,000	144,000	72,000	36,000	6,000	60	Talentum	193	15	0	

* The values of the *diobolus*, *tetrobolus*, *didrachmon* (which, as well as the *drachma*, was generally of silver), *tetradrachmon*, &c. are easily ascertained from their etymology. See Harwood's *Grecian Antiquities*, pp. 459—461; and for the Roman modes of computation of money, and of interest (as also of weights, and measures), see Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, pp. 495—500, where are given many curious particulars of individual opulence; and also the accurate Tables annexed to Ainsworth's *Latin Dictionary*.

The Values and Proportions of ROMAN Coins.

							<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>q.</i>
Teruncius, or Quadrans †	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	0	0	$\frac{7}{16}$
2	Sembella	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	0	0	$\frac{5}{16}$
4	2	Libella, or As	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	0	0	$\frac{1}{8}$
10	5	2½	Sestertius, L.L.S. †	.....	.....	.....	0	0	1	$\frac{3}{4}$
20	10	5	2	Quinarius, or Victoriatus	..	.....	0	0	3	$\frac{3}{4}$
40	20	10	4	2	Denarius	.....	0	0	7	$\frac{3}{4}$
1,000	500	250	100	50	25	Stater	.....	0	16	1
10,000	5,000	2,500	1,000	500	250	10	Sestertium	8	1	5

† The smallest of the brass coins after the reduction of the *as*, as the *sestertius* was of the silver ones. The *as*, at first *libralis* (or a pound weight), after it's successive reductions to 2 oz., 1 oz., and $\frac{1}{2}$ oz., was still called *libella*. It was applied to any thing divided into twelve parts; an inheritance, an acre, liquid measure, interest of money, &c. Hence, probably, our word 'ace' or unit. The *quinarius* was called *victoriatus*, from the image of Victory sometimes impressed upon it.

‡ Meaning *libella*, *libella*, *et semis*, and often marked HS.

§ The comparative values of gold and silver have in all states occasionally varied. As the *stater*, of gold, weighed generally double the *denarius*, they are here stated (below the present proportion) gold : silver :: 25 : 2. The *stater aureus* of the Greeks is estimated at the same value. The *stater Daricus* and the *stater Croesi* were double.

GRECIAN and ROMAN Weights reduced to English Troy Weight.

						lb. oz. drcs. gr.			
Lentes						0	0	0	0 $\frac{85}{112}$
4	Siliquæ	.....				0	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{23}$
12	3	Obolus	.....			0	0	0	9 $\frac{3}{23}$
72	18	6	Drachma	.....		0	0	2	6 $\frac{9}{4}$
144	36	12	2	Sicilius	.....	0	0	4	13 $\frac{2}{8}$
576	144	48	8	4	Uncia	.....	0	0	18 5 $\frac{1}{7}$
6,912	1,728	576	96	48	12	Libra*	.....	0	10 18 13 $\frac{5}{7}$

* Originally an *as*. The *mina Attica communis* exceeds this, according to Dr. Arbuthnot, only by $\frac{1}{21}$, and weighs 0 11 7 16 $\frac{2}{7}$
The *Talentum Atticum commune*, = 60 *Minæ*, 56 11 0 17 $\frac{1}{7}$
Alexandria 104 0 19 14

Ainsworth, indeed, states the *Attic* weights as $\frac{1}{8}$ heavier than the corresponding *Roman* ones.

N. B. Between the *obolus* and the *drachma* was interposed the *scriptulum* = double the former; between the *drachma* and the *sicilius* the *sextula* = 4 *scriptula*; and between the *sicilius* and the *uncia* the *duella* = one third of the latter. There were also other subdivisions of weights, the *semuncia*, *hemisescla*, i. e. *semisextula*, &c. But they are omitted in the Table, for the sake of brevity.

The weights of the Grecian coins are computed,

The Drachma at	0	0	2	6 $\frac{22}{49}$
The Mina (100 ^{dr})	1	1	0	4 $\frac{13}{49}$
The Talent (60 ^m)	65	0	12	5 $\frac{3}{4}$

GRECIAN Measures of Length.

						yds.	ft.	inch.	dec.	$\frac{1}{16}$
Dactylus						0	0	0	.7554	$\frac{1}{16}$
4	Doron					0	0	3	.0218	$\frac{3}{4}$
12	3	Spithame				0	0	9	.0656	$\frac{1}{4}$
16	4	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Pes			0	1	0	.0875	
24	6	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Cubitus, or $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ *		0	1	6	.13125	
96	24	8	6	4	Passus, or $\sigma\pi\upsilon\upsilon\alpha$	2	0	0	.525	
9,600	2,400	800	600	400	100	Stadium ..	201	1	4	.5
76,800	19,200	6,400	4,800	3,200	800	8	Million	1611	2	0

* Between the *doron* and the *spithame* was interposed the *lichas* = ten, and the *orthodoron* = eleven *dactyli*. Between the *pes* likewise and the $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$, or larger cubit, occurred the $\pi\upsilon\gamma\mu\eta$ = three-fourths, and the $\pi\upsilon\gamma\omega\upsilon$ = five-sixths of the $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$.

The Greeks and Persians called thirty *stadia* a *parasunga*, and two *parasangæ* a *schanos*.

ROMAN Measures of Length.

						yds.	ft.	inch.	dec.	$\frac{1}{4}$
Digitus transversus						0	0	0	.725	$\frac{1}{4}$
$1\frac{1}{2}$	Uncia, or Pollex					0	0	0	.967	
4	3	Palms minor				0	0	2	.901	
16	12	4	Pes			0	0	11	.604	
24	18	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Cubitus		0	1	5	.406	
80	60	20	5	$3\frac{1}{3}$	Passus	1	1	10	.02	
10,000	7,500	2,500	625	$416\frac{2}{3}$	125	Stadium ..	201	1	4	.5
80,000	60,000	20,000	5,000	$3,333\frac{1}{3}$	1,000	8	Milliare	1611	2	

GRECIAN Measures of Capacity for things Liquid, reduced to English Wine-Measure.

							gall. pints. sol. inch.				
Cochlearion							0	$\frac{1}{128}\sigma$	0.0356		
$2\frac{1}{2}$	Mystron*						0	$\frac{1}{48}$	0.089 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$		
5	2	Conche					0	$\frac{1}{24}$	0.178 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$		
10	4	2	Cyathus				0	$\frac{1}{12}$	0.356 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$		
60	24	12	6	Cotyle			0	$\frac{1}{2}$	2.141 $\frac{1}{2}$		
120	48	24	12	2	Xestes		0	1	4.283		
720	288	144	72	12	6	Choüs		0	6	25.698	
8,640	3,456	1,728	864	144	72	12	Metretes		10	2	19.636

* Between the *cochlearion* and the *mystron* was interposed the *cheme*, equal to two *cochlearia*; and between the *cyathus* and *cotyle* (the former of which Dr. Langhorne, by mistake, represents as nearly triple, instead of one-sixth of the latter) the *oxybaphon*, which was equal to four *cotylæ*. Dr. L. likewise, in his mingled Table of *Greek* and *Roman* measures of length, has stated the *English* pace there used at five feet; whereas, in what relates to the Grecian part, it must be estimated at six.

ROMAN Measures of Capacity for things Liquid, reduced to English Wine-Measure.

Ligula							gall. pints sol. inch.		
							0	$\frac{1}{48}$	0.117 $\frac{5}{12}$
4	Cyathus*						0	$\frac{1}{12}$	0.469 $\frac{2}{3}$
24	6	Hemina					0	$\frac{1}{2}$	2.818
48	12	2	Sextarius				0	1	5.636
288	72	12	6	Congius			0	7	4.942
1,152	288	48	24	4	Urna		3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5.33
2,304	576	96	48	8	2	Amphora, or? Quadrantal	7	1	10.66
48,080	11,520	1,920	960	160	40	20	Culeus	143	3 11.095

* Between the *cyathus* and the *hemina* were interposed the *acetabulum* = one-fourth, and the *quartarius* = one half the latter; so called, because $\frac{1}{4}$ *sextarius*; as *sextarius*, because $\frac{1}{6}$ *congius*. *Cadus*, *congiarius*, and *dolium* denote no certain measure. The Romans divided the *sextarius*, as well as the *libra*, into twelve equal parts, called *cyatha*. Hence their *calices* were denominated *sextantes*, *quadrantes*, or *trientes*, according to the number of *cyathi* which they contained.

GRECIAN Measures of Capacity for things Dry, reduced to English Corn-Measure.

						pcks.	gal.	pts.	sol.	inch.
Cochlearion						0	0	0	0.276	$\frac{7}{25}$
10	Cyathus					0	0	0	2.763	$\frac{1}{2}$
15	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Oxybaphon				0	0	0	4.144	$\frac{3}{4}$
60	6	4	Cotyle			0	0	0	16.579	
120	12	8	2	Xestes		0	0	0	33.158	
180	18	12	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Chœnix	0	0	1	15.705	$\frac{3}{4}$
8,640	864	576	144	72	48	Medimnus..	4	0	6	3.501

ROMAN Measures of Capacity for things Dry, reduced to English Corn-Measure.

						pcks.	gal.	pts.	sol.	inch.
Ligula						0	0	$\frac{1}{8}$	0.01	
4	Cyathus					0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0.04	
6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Acetabulum				0	0	$\frac{1}{8}$	0.06	
24	6	4	Hemina			0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0.24	
48	12	8	2	Sextarius		0	0	1	0.48	
384	96	64	16	8	Semimodius...	0	1	0	3.84	
768	192	128	32	16	2	Modius..	1	0	0	7.68

The Grecian square measures were the *plethron*, of doubtful value; and it's half, called the *aroura*.

		sq. feet.
* * The <i>Jugerum</i> , or acre, of the Romans contained 240 feet in length, and 140 in breadth; in all		28.800
The <i>actus quadratus</i> , called also <i>actus major</i> or <i>semis</i> , contained an area of 120 feet square, or		14.400
The <i>actus minimus</i> , called also <i>sextans</i>		4.800
The <i>lima</i> , called also <i>seuncia</i>		3.600

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Before Christ. world.
(B. C.) (A. M.)

4004		<i>The creation of the world, according to the Hebrew text *.</i>
2348	1656	<i>The universal deluge; 427 years after which, Abram was called.</i>
2247	1757	<i>The tower of Babel built.</i>
2188	1816	<i>The kingdom of EGYPT founded by Mizraim, which lasts till Cambyzes, B. C. 525.</i>
2089	1915	<i>SICYON founded, which lasts till B. C. 1089.</i>
2059	1945	<i>ASSYRIA founded, which lasts till Sardanapalus' death, B. C. 820.</i>
		<i>N. B. Semiramis dies, B. C. 1965.</i>
1921	2083	<i>Abram called, æt. 75. Here commences the '430 years of sojourning †.'</i>
1856	2148	<i>The kingdom of ARGOS founded by Inachus.</i>
1764	2240	<i>The deluge of Ogyges, which desolates Attica for 208 years, till Cecrops' arrival.</i>

* By the LXX. it is placed 5872, and by the Samaritan version 4700 years B. C.

† Gal. iii 17., Exod. xii. 40., Hebr. *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwell in Egypt, was 430 years.* In the latter passage, however, are found some difficulties: because not only the *children* of Israel did not sojourn 'in Egypt' 430 years; but, to complete that interval, it is necessary to include the previous sojourning in Canaan of Israel's children, of Israel himself, of Isaac his father, and in part of Abruham his grandfather. The LXX. clears up the matter, by reading (in addition to the Hebrew text) *και εν γη Χανααν αυτοι και ο πατρις αυτων*; and though the last five words do not occur in cardinal Carafa's edition 1587, they exist in the Polyglotts of Complutum and Antwerp, &c. as well as in a great number of versions and MSS., and are substantiated by all the Samaritan readings. *The sojourning* in Egypt in fact, dated from the time of Israel's arrival in that country, was only 215 years: but their fathers had previously sojourned for the same number of years in Canaan after the calling of Abram.

B. C.	A. M.	
1582	2422	The Arundel marbles date from this period, and place here the coming of Cecrops *.
1556	2448	Cecrops I. arrives in Attica from Sais in Egypt, and reigns 50 years.
1531	2473	<i>Moses flies into Midian</i> , æt. 40.
1506	2498	Cranaüs† succeeds Cecrops. In his reign the Arcopagus is first mentioned.
1503	2501	The deluge of Deucalion, in Thessaly.
1495	2509	The Panathenæa first celebrated at Athens.
1493	2511	Cadmus introduces the Phœnician letters into Greece, and builds the Cadmea, afterward the citadel of Thebes.
1491	2513	<i>The children of Israel leave Egypt.</i>
1485	2519	Danaüs is driven from Egypt by his brother Ægyptus (called also Rameses, and Sesostris the Great) and arrives in Greece in his πεντηκοντερος, or fifty-oared vessel. Ten years afterward, he seizes the kingdom of Argos.
1451	2553	<i>Moses dies</i> , æt. 120, and is succeeded by Joshua.
1406	2598	Minos I. gives laws to the Cretans, and acquires a great maritime power ‡.
1383	2621	Ceres visits Attica, teaches the Athenians to sow corn, and sends her son Triptolemus to Eleusis and the rest of Greece.
1356	2648	The Eleusinian Mysteries instituted by Eumolpus, son of Musæus.

* The dates of these marbles uniformly precede those adopted by archbishop Usher by about 26 years.

† Between Cranaüs and Theseus, the kings of Attica were

B. C.

1497	Amphietyon, son of Deucalion, who married Cranaüs' daughter, de-throned his father-in-law, on Deucalion's death (B. C. 1496), reigned at Thermopylæ, and established the Amphictyonic council.
1487	Erichthonius, who dispossessed Amphietyon of the crown.
1437	Pandion I.
1397	Erechtheus.
1347	Cecrops II.
1307	Pandion II., and
1283	Ægeus, the father of Theseus.

‡ After him the powers, successively masters of the Mediterranean, were

B. C.

1179	The Lydians,
1058	The Pelasgians,
1000	The Thracians,
916	The Rhodians,
893	The Phrygians,
868	The Cypriots,
826	The Phœnicians,
787	The Egyptians,
753	The Milesians,
734	The Carians, and
676	The Lesbians.

B. C. A. M.

1326 2678 The *Isthmian* games instituted by Sisyphus, king of Corinth*. About this time Pelops, son of Tantalus, comes into Peloponnesus, and *Orpheus* and *Linus* are supposed to have flourished.

1263 2741 The Argonautic expedition under Jason, to Colchis: THESEUS one of the party. The *Pythian* games first celebrated by Adrastus, king of Argos.

I. THESEUS

1251 2753 relieves the Athenians from the tribute imposed upon them by Minos II., king of Crete, and patron of Dædalus, for the murder of his son Androgeus.

1231 2770 ——— collects the inhabitants of the twelve villages of Attica into one city.

1225 2779 The war of the Seven Captains against Thebes. The *Nemean* games instituted.

1222 2782 The *Olympic* games, which are said to have been instituted by the Idæi Dactyli in Elis B. C. 1453, revived by Hercules.

1213 2791 The rape of Helen by THESEUS.

1205 2799 Mnesteus dethrones THESEUS, and drives him out of Attica, which is recovered however 23 years afterward by his son Demophon.

1188 2816 *Jephtha judges Israel*. *Sanchoniatho*, the Phœnician historian, flourishes about this time.

1184 2820 Troy is taken.

1124 2880 The Æolian colonies migrate, 80 years before those of Ionia.

1116 2888 *Samuel judges Israel*.

1104 2900 The Heracidæ return into Peloponnesus.

1070 2934 Codrus, the last king of Athens, devotes himself for his country. Here begin the Archons†.

* These games were subsequently renewed by THESEUS, B. C. 1234, and after a second intermission, B. C. 582, upon every second year. The *Pythian* games were restored at Delphi every fourth year, by the Amphictyons, B. C. 591. The *Nemean* games were revived, every second year, B. C. 568; and the *Olympic* games were re-appointed every fourth year by Iphitus, Lycurgus, and Cleosthenes, B. C. 884, though the epoch of the Olympiads took place 108 years afterward.

† After Codrus, perpetual archons (of whom his son Medon was the first) ruled Athens for 316 years; then

B. C.

754 Decennial archons, for 70 years; and, finally,

684 Nine annual archons: { The first called 'the Archon' καὶ ἐξοχῆν, or Ἐπαυματοῦς, giving his name to the year:
The second ———— Βουλεύς, or king, presiding over the sacred rites:
The third ———— Πρωμαρχος, or secretary at war, and
The other six ὁισμοῦνται, regulators of the public decrees. See p. 244., not. (39.)

E. C.	A. M.	
1055	2949	<i>Saul slain, and David reigns at Hebron, æt. 30.</i>
1004	3000	<i>The temple, after eight years spent in it's building, dedicated by Solomon.</i>
975	3029	<i>Israel (or the Ten Tribes) separate from Judah (and Benjamin.)</i>
971	3033	<i>Sesac, king of Egypt, takes Jerusalem, and plunders the temple, &c.</i>
944	3060	<i>Hesiod flourishes, according to the Marbles.</i>

III. LYCURGUS

926	3078	is born.
907	3097	<i>Homer flourishes, according to the Marbles.</i>
896	3108	<i>Elijah, or Elias, taken up into heaven.</i>
884	3120	LYCURGUS establishes his code of laws at Lacedæmon.
869	3135	Dido builds, or enlarges Carthage: and Phidon seizes the government of Argos, invents weights and measures, and first coins silver money at Ægina.
820	3184	Nineveh taken by Arbaces and Belesis (or Baladan), who divide the Assyrian empire, the former receiving Media, and the latter Babylon*.

* The subdivision of the old Assyrian empire was

The subdivision of the old Assyrian empire was		
B. C.	Media Arbaces, &c.	Babylon Beleasis
777	.....	Pul, or Ninus
747	.....	Tiglath Pileser
		Nabonassar (whose era is used by Ptolemy), &c. &c. till Babylon is taken by Esarhad- don B. C. 680.
727	.....	Salmaneser
712	.....	Sennacherib
709	.....	Esarhaddon
		&c. &c. to
606	.....	Nebuchadnezz.
	Media	Persia
559	lv. 2.	Cyrus.
550	lvii. 3.	— becomes king of Media.
548	lviii. 1.	— takes Lydia, and
538	lx. 3.	— Babylon.
536	lxi. 1.	— reigns over all Asia, and issues an edict for the return of the Jews, and the re-building of the temple.
529	lxii. 4.	Cambyses.
521	lxiv. 4.	Darius I. the son of Hystaspes.
485	lxxiii. 4.	Xerxes I. (the Great.)
464	lxxix. 1.	Artaxerxes I. (Longimanns.)

B. C. A. M.

814 3190 The kingdom of MACEDON founded by Caranus, which lasts till the battle of Pydna B. C. 168.

800 3204 *Jonah the prophet*.*

797 3207 The kingdom of LYDIA founded, which lasts till B. C. 548.

779 3225 Kings superseded at Corinth by annual magistrates, called Prytanes.

B. C. Olymp. Year of Rome.

A. U. C.

776 The epoch of the Olympiads.

760 v. 1. Theopompus, king of Lacedæmon, introduces five ephori into the government.

II. ROMULUS

753 vi. 1. 1 builds Rome, according to Varro, according to Cato, B. C. 752 †.

750 vii. 3. 4 The 'Rape of the Sabines,' three years after which (at the epoch of Nabonassar) Tatius, their prince, is associated with ROMULUS in the united empire.

743 ix 2. 11 The first Messenian War ‡, which lasts nineteen years, ends by the Lacedæmonians taking Ithome. About this time (B. C. 732.) Syracuse, and (B. C. 703.) Corcyra founded by

B. C. Media Persia

425 lxxxviii. 4. Xerxes II.

423 lxxxix. 2. Darius II. (Nothus.)

401 xciv. 1. Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon.)

358 cv. 3. ——— III. (Ochus.)

337 cx. 4. Arses

335 cxl. 2. Darius III. (Codomannus.)

331 cxli. 2. ——— conquered by Alexander the Great.

* The dates of the other prophets are

B. C.

790 Amos.

785 Hosea, died about 721.

758 Nahum.

757 *Isaiah*, sawn asunder by order of Manasseh about B. C. 696.

754 Micah.

731 Habakkuk.

627 *Jeremiah*, died about B. C. 577, and Joel (Calmet) ?

626 Zephaniah.

593 *Ezekiel*, and Obadiah ?

558 *Daniel*.

528 Haggai.

527 Zechariah.

436 Malachi.

† Sir Isaac Newton's theory, which places the foundation of Rome B. C. 627, would completely un hinge the established chronology. Besides, after the instances of Louis XIV. and XV., whose two reigns cover an interval of 132 years, how can any one argue securely upon averages of successions ?

‡ Aristodemus was the Messenian general. Their second war under Aristomenes, with the Lacedæmonians under Tyrtæus, began B. C. 685, and ended in the fourteenth year by the Lacedæmonians taking Ira, and expelling their enemies from Peloponnesus. The third began B. C. 465, and lasted ten years.

P. C.	Olymp.	A. U. C.	
			Corinthian colonies; and (B. C. 707.) Tarentum by the Parthenians from Lacedæmon.
716	xvi. 1.	38	ROMULUS dies, and after an interregnum of a year is succeeded by
715	2.	39	IV. NUMA*.
680	xxiii. 3.	68	About this time <i>Archilochus</i> and <i>Alcman</i> flourish; and <i>Terpander</i> gives to the lyre seven strings instead of four.
672	xxvii. 1.	82	NUMA dies.
659	xxx. 2.	95	Cypselus usurps the government of Corinth for thirty years, when he is succeeded by Periander, who holds it forty-four years more.
			Byzantium founded B. C. 658, and Cyrene by Battus B. C. 630.
623	xxxix. 2.	131	Draco promulgates his bloody laws at Athens.
600	xl. 1.	154	Cylon, &c. slain for having aspired to the government of Athens.
			V. SOLON.
594	xlvi. 3.	160	gives laws to Athens, and dies B. C. 558, æt. 80.
			About this time <i>Epimenides</i> the Phæstian lustres Athens, polluted by the murder of the Cylonites at the temple of the Furies; and the seven wise men †, with <i>Alcæus</i> , <i>Sappho</i> , <i>Anacharsis</i> , <i>Æsop</i> , <i>Stesichorus</i> , <i>Anaximander</i> , <i>Phalaris</i> , and <i>Anaximenes</i> of Miletus flourish.
562	liv. 3.	192	<i>Susarion</i> and <i>Dolon</i> introduce comedy at Athens.
560	lv. 1.	194	Pisistratus first usurps the Athenian government.
539	lx. 2.	215	The Phocæans, driven from Rome, colonise Marseilles.
535	lxi. 2.	219	<i>Thespis</i> introduces tragedy at Athens.

* The successors of Numa were

A. U. C.

82 Tullus Hostilius.

114 Ancus Martius.

138 Tarquinius, afterward called Priscus.

176 Servius Tullius, and

220 Tarquinius Superbus.

244 The consular government introduced, and continued with few interruptions 462 years, till Julius Cæsar's victory at Pharsalia.

† These were

B. C.

629 Periander, tyrant of Corinth.

612 Pittacus of Mitylene.

597 Chilo of Lacedæmon.

594 { *Solon* of Athens.

{ *Thales* of Miletus.

565 Bias of Priene.

564 Cleobulus, tyrant of Lindus in Rhodes.

B. C.	Olymp.	A. U. C.	
			About this time <i>Theognis</i> , <i>Pythagoras</i> , <i>Xenophanes</i> of Colophon, <i>Anacreon</i> , <i>Confucius</i> , and <i>Heracritus</i> flourish.
513	lxvi. 4.	241	Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, assassinated by
510	lxvii. 3.	244	Harmodius and Aristogiton; and Hippias, his remaining son, expelled from Athens—dies B. C. 490.
<hr/>			Tarquin and his family at the same time expelled from Rome, and Consuls* established.
VI. VALERIUS PUBLICOLA			
509	lxvii. 4.	245	is chosen consul in the room of Collatinus. Brutus fights Aruns, the eldest son of Collatinus, and both fall.
			Horatius Pulvillus, colleague of PUBLICOLA, dedicates the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
508	lxviii. 1.	246	Horatius Cocles defends the Sublician bridge.
503	lxix. 2.	251	PUBLICOLA dies.
493	lxxi. 4.	261	The people of Rome secede to the <i>Mons Sacer</i> , and are brought back by Menenius Agrippa.
XII. C. MARCIUS CORIOLANUS			
491	lxii. 2.	263	is banished from Rome, and retires to the Volsci.
<hr/>			Gelo usurps the government of Syracuse, eleven years afterward beats the Carthaginians at Himera, and is succeeded B. C. 478 by his brother Hiero.
490	— 3.	264	Miltiades gains the battle of Marathon over Darius' army, and dies the following year.
488	lxxiii. 1.	266	CORIOLANUS besieges Rome, but on his mother's intercession withdraws the Volscian army, and is put to death by that people.
485	— 4.	269	Xerxes succeeds his father Darius on the throne of Persia.
XVII. ARISTIDES			
484	lxxiv. 1.	270	is banished by the Ostracism for ten years, but recalled at the end of three; dies B. C. 467.
VII. THEMISTOCLES			
480	lxxv. 1.	274	defeats Xerxes' fleet at Salamis, about ten

* The commencement of several of the other Roman magistracies were, Of the *Quæstors* almost contemporaneously with the city itself.

——— *Dictators* (*Lartius* the first), A. U. C. 256.

——— *Tribunes* of the people (and the plebeian *ædiles*, as their assistants), 261.

——— *Censors*, 311.

——— *Curule ædiles*, 387.

——— *Prætors*, 389.

B. C.	Olymp.	A. U. C.	
			weeks after Leonidas had fallen at Thermopylæ.
479	lxxv. 2.	275	The Persians under Mardonius defeated at Plataeæ by Pausanias on the same day, upon which they lost the battle of Mycale in Ionia. About this time <i>Theron</i> of Agrigentum; and not long afterward <i>Herodotus</i> , <i>Thucydides</i> , <i>Hellanicus</i> , <i>Democritus</i> , <i>Æschylus</i> , <i>Pindar</i> , <i>Anaxagoras</i> of Clazomenæ (Νέε), and <i>Sophocles</i> flourish.
471	lxxvii. 2.	283	THEMISTOCLES is banished by the Ostracism, and retires to the court of Xerxes; dies B. C. 449, æt. 65.
XXV. CIMON,			
470	— 3.	284	son of Miltiades, defeats the Persian fleet off Cyprus, and their army near the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia.
460	lxxx. 1.	294	— is banished by the Ostracism, recalled in five years, and dies B. C. 449, æt. 51.
458	— 3.	296	<i>Ezra is sent by Artaxerxes Longimanus from Babylon to Jerusalem with the captive Jews, &c. 490 years (i. e. 70 prophetic weeks) before the crucifixion.</i>
454	lxxxī. 3.	300	The Romans send to Athens for Solon's laws.
451	lxxxii. 2.	303	The Decemvirs created, and the laws of the XII. tables compiled. The consulship restored B. C. 449.
448	lxxxiii. 1.	306	The first Sacred War* about the temple of Delphi, in which the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were auxiliaries, but on opposite sides.
447	— 2.	307	Tohidides the Athenian general killed, and his forces defeated by the Bæotians at Chæronea. About this time <i>Zaleucus</i> , <i>Charondas</i> , <i>Empedocles</i> , <i>Euripides</i> , <i>Phidias</i> , <i>Cratinus</i> , <i>Eupolis</i> , <i>Aristophanes</i> , <i>Meton</i> , <i>Socrates</i> , <i>Gorgias</i> , <i>Hippocrates</i> , <i>Protagoras</i> , <i>Parrhasius</i> , <i>Lysias</i> , <i>Cebes</i> ; and <i>Euclid</i> of Megara flourish.

IX. PERICLES

440	lxxxiv. 4.	313	subdues Samos, which had revolted from the Athenians.
439	lxxxv. 2.	315	War of Corinth and Corcyra begins.
431	lxxxvii. 2.	323	— stirs up the Peloponnesian War, which with the interposition of some truces lasts 27 years. <i>About this time the Old Testament history finishes.</i>
429	— 4.	325	— dies, æt. 70, after having governed

* The second, upon the temple of Delphi's being plundered by the Phœceans, began B. C. 357, and lasted nine years. (Philomelus fell B. C. 354.)

B.C.	Olymp.	A.U.C.	
			Athens 25 years in concert with others, and 15 alone.
424	lxxxix. 1.	330	The Thebans defeat the Athenians at Delium.
422	— 3.	332	The battle of Amphipolis.
XXVII. NICIAS			
415	xc. 2.	339	is sent by the Athenians to Sicily with a considerable force, and falls in battle two years afterward.
XI. ALCIBIADES,			
			who had been sent as NICIAS' colleague, is recalled and retires to Sparta.
407	xciii. 2.	347	— returns to Athens, and rejoins the army.
404	xciv. 1.	350	— dies (act. 46), as also Theramenes. Athens, after the action of Ægos-Potamos, B. C. 405, is taken by the Lacedæmonian general
XXIII. LYSANDER ;			
			who establishes the Thirty Tyrants in that city, and falls B. C. 394 at Haliartus.
401	— 4.	353	The Thirty Tyrants expelled by Thrasybulus, who dies B. C. 390. Cyrus killed in his expedition against his brother,
XLVII. ARTAXERXES II. (Mnemon, who dies B. C. 358.)			
			The 'Retreat of the Ten Thousand.'
			About this time <i>Xenophon, Plato, Isocrates, Ctesias, Zeuxis, Antisthenes, Archytas, Philoxenus, Philistus, Isæus, Diogenes, and Eudoxus</i> flourish.
XXXI. AGESILAUS			
397	xcv. 4.	357	ascends the throne of Sparta.
396	xcvi. 1.	358	— defeats the Persian cavalry.
393	— 4.	361	— defeats the allies (Athenians, Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives) in the Corinthian War at Chæronea, a few days after Conon had defeated the Lacedæmonians under Pisander in a sea-fight at Cnidus.
			— leads an army into Egypt, to assist Tachos against the Persians, B. C. 362, and dies the following year.
390	xcvii. 3.	364	The Romans defeated at Allia by the Gauls, and
VIII. CAMILLUS			
			made dictator: dies B. C. 365.
337	xcviii. 2.	367	The 'Peace of Antalcidas' (the Spartan general, who died B. C. 370) between the Persians and

B. C. Olymp. A. U. C.

			Lacedæmonians, by which the Greek cities in Asia are subjected to the dominion of Persia.
377	c. 4.	377	Chabrias, at the head of the Athenians, defeats the Lacedæmonians under Pollis by sea at Naxos.
371	cii. 2.	383	The Thebans under Epaminondas defeat the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, where

XV. PELOPIDAS

			headed the Sacred Band. He died B. C. 364, in a successful battle with Alexander tyrant of Phæræ, who survived him seven years.
368	ciii. 1.	386	Dionysius the Elder, tyrant of Sicily, dies.
363	civ. 2.	391	The battle of Mantinea; where Epaminondas, though victorious, is killed by the son of Xenophon.
360	cv. 1.	394	Philip of Macedon begins his reign, and gains a battle at Methone over Argæus and the Athenians.

XLV. DION

257	— 4.	397	expels Dionysius the Younger from Syracuse (but he recovers possession of it after ten years of banishment, and holds it for four more).
354	cvi. 3.	400	— is put to death by the Zacynthian mercenaries. About this time <i>Theopompus</i> of Chios, <i>Ephorus</i> of Cumæ, and <i>Speusippus</i> , <i>Aristotle</i> , <i>Protagoras</i> of Rhodes, <i>Xenocrates</i> , <i>Stilpo</i> of Megara, <i>Apelles</i> of Cos, <i>Callippus</i> , <i>Lysippus</i> , <i>Praxiteles</i> , and <i>Theophrastus</i> flourish.

XIII. TIMOLEON,

			who had previously put to death his brother Timophanes for affecting the Corinthian government,
343	cix. 2.	411	Restores liberty to Syracuse, and re-expels Dionysius the Younger, who takes refuge at Corinth. The Samnite War begins, and lasts 71 years; during the last 10, the Samnites confederate with the Tarentines.
340	cx. 1.	414	TIMOLEON defeats the Carthaginians near Agrigentum, and dies B. C. 337.
338	cx. 3.	416	Philip of Macedon defeats the Athenians and Thebans at Chæronea; is assassinated two years afterward by Pausanias, and succeeded by

XXXIII. ALEXANDER,

336	cx. 1.	418	who, after having destroyed Thebes B. C. 335, defeated Darius' armies on the Granicus B. C.
334	— 3.	420	334, at Issus 333, and at Arbela 331, taken
331	cxii. 2.	423	

B.C.	Olymp.	A.U.C.	
327	cxiii. 2.	427	possession of Egypt, and marched into India against Porus 327, dies 323, æt. 32, on the same day with Diogenes, æt. 90. His empire divided into four kingdoms * after his death. The Samian war of two years takes place between the Athenians and Antipater.

B.C. A.U.C.

XLI. DEMOSTHENES,

322	432	who had been banished, is recalled after a two years' exile, and (with Hyperides and Demades) put to death the following year by Antipater, æt. 60.
321	433	The Romans passed under the yoke by the Samnites at the Furcæ Caudinæ.
320	434	Polysperchon publishes a general liberty to all the Greek cities, and dies about B. C. 309.

XXXV. PHOCION

318	436	is delivered up by that general to the Athenians, who unjustly put him to death.
317	437	Syracuse, &c., usurped by Agathocles, who dies B. C. 289. Demetrius Phalereus governs Athens for ten years.

XXX. EUMENES,

315	439	who had attained considerable rank among Alexander's successors, is betrayed to Antigonos, and put to death.
312	442	Seleucus Nicator takes Babylon, whence the 'Æra of the Seleucidæ,' and dies B. C. 280.
308	446	Q. Fabius defeats the Samnites, Marsi, and Peligni.

XLIII. DEMETRIUS (Poliorectes)

307	447	restores the Athenian democracy, banishing their oligarchs, Demetrius Phalereus, Dinarchus, &c. About this time <i>Menander</i> , <i>Polemon</i> , <i>Zeno</i> of Citium,
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* Egypt, Syria and Babylon, Asia, and Macedon. The succession of the Ptolemies, princes of the first of these, is subjoined :

B. C.

323	Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, surnamed Soter.
284	——— Philadelphus.
246	——— Euergetes I.
221	——— Philopator.
204	——— Epiphanes.
180	——— Philometor.
145	——— Euergetes II., or Physcon.
116	——— Lathyrus Soter, with his mother Cleopatra.
106	Alexander king of Cyprus, with Cleopatra for eighteen years, when Lathyrus was restored for seven more.
81	Cleopatra II. with Alexander II.
80	Ptolemy Alexander III.
65	——— Dionysius Anletes.
51	——— Dionysius II. with Cleopatra III. Then Julius Cæsar, 49—43, the II. triumvirate, and B. C. 31. Augustus.

B.C. A.U.C.

- Crantor, Philemon, Megasthenes* the historian, and *Pyrrho* flourish.
- 301 453 The battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, where Antigonus is defeated (and killed) by Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander.
- 296 458 DEMETRIUS takes Athens after a year's siege.
- 294 460 ——— ascends the throne of Macedon.
- 287 467 ——— is deserted by his army, whom Pyrrhus corrupts, and by the Athenians, and dies the following year.

XXI. PYRRHUS

- takes possession of Macedon, but is expelled the next year by Lysimachus, who five years afterward falls in Phrygia in an action with Seleucus.
- 284 470 *The LXX. translation supposed to have been made about this time.*
- 281 473 The Achæan league begins.
- 280 474 PYRRHUS passes into Italy, and continues there and in Sicily till his defeat by Curius at Maleventum, B. C. 274.
- 278 476 The Gauls, under Brennus, cut to pieces near Delphi.
- 272 482 PYRRHUS dies.
- 268 486 Athens taken and kept 12 years by Antigonus (Gonatas) king of Macedon, after which he restores it to liberty.
- 264 490 The I. Punic War * begins, and lasts 23 years.
- 260 494 The Carthaginians defeated at sea by the Romans under Duilius, who has the first naval triumph.
- 256 498 Regulus defeated, and taken prisoner; dies about B. C. 251. In this half century *Euclid* of Alexandria, *Epicurus*, *Arcesilaus*, *Zenodotus* of Ephesus, *Dionysius* of Alexandria, *Theocritus*, *Aratus* of Tarsus, *Lycophron*, *Berosus* the Chaldean historian, *Cleanthes*, *Timæus*, *Manetho* the Egyptian historian, *Callimachus*, *Zoïlus*, and *Duris* of Samos the historian flourish.

XLVIII. ARATUS,

- 251 503 of Sicyon, prevails upon his countrymen to join the Achæan league.
- 243 511 —takes the citadel of Corinth, and dies B. C. 213, æt. 62.

XXXVII. AGIS,

- king of Sparta, for having attempted to settle an Agrarian law, put to death.
- 235 519 The temple of Janus shut for the first time after Numa's reign.

* The II., in which Annibal flourishes, begins B. C. 218, and lasts till the battle of Zama, B. C. 202.

—— III. begins B. C. 149, and ends B. C. 146 with the destruction of Carthage.

B.C. A.U.C.

- 232 522 The Megalopolitans under Lysiades, at the persuasion of
ARATUS, join the Achæan league.
231 523 The first divorce at Rome, by Sp. Carvilius.

XXXVIII. CLEOMENES

- 227 527 begins a war of five years with ARATUS.
225 529 — kills the Ephori, and restores the Agrarian laws of Sparta.
222 532 Loses the battle of Sellasia to Antigonus (Dodon) king of
Macedon, whom ARATUS had called in to his assistance,
and retires into Egypt.
220 534 The Social War between the Ætolians and Achæans be-
gins, and continues three years, in which Philip king of
Macedon joins the Achæans.
219 535 Saguntum taken and destroyed by Annibal, which causes
the II. Punic war.
217 537 Annibal, having previously gained the battles of Ticinum
and Trebia, defeats the consul Flaminius at the lake
Thrasymene; and
216 538 — the consuls Varro and Æmilius at Cannæ in
Apulia.

XVI. MARCELLUS

- beats Annibal at Nola.
212 542 — takes Syracuse, after a siege of three years.
208 546 — dies.

XIX. PHILOPOMEN,

- ‘the last of the Greeks,’ defeats Machanidas, tyrant of
Lacedæmon, at Mantinea.
(B.C. 191, unites Lacedæmon to the Achæan league.
— 188, abrogates the laws of Lysurgus, which are
soon restored however by the Romans, and
— 183, dies æt. 70.)

X. FABIVS MAXIMVS (Cunctator).

- 207 547 Asdrubal, on his way to reinforce Annibal, is defeated
and slain by Claudius Nero.
202 552 Annibal defeated at Zama in Africa by Scipio (Africanus I.
or the Great) who dies B.C. 184.
(— dies B.C. 183, æt. 64.)
In this half-century Jesus the Son of Sirach, Conon the
astronomer, Eratosthenes, Apollonios of Perga, Livius
Andronicus, Chrysippus, Euphorion, Archimedes, Nævius,
Apollonios Rhodius, Aristo, Fabius Pictor, Phylarchus
the historian, Plautus, Ennius, and Sotio flourish.
200 554 The I. Macedonian war* begins, and lasts nearly four
years.

* The II. begins B.C. 171, and ends with the total defeat of Perseus.

B. C. A. U. C.

XX. T. Q. FLAMINIUS

- 197 557 defeats Philip, king of Macedon, at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly;
 196 558 — proclaims liberty to Greece, and dies after B. C. 182.

XVIII. CATO THE CENSOR

- triumphs for his conquests in Spain; and dies B. C. 148, æt. 85.
 192 562 War of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, begins.
 190 564 Antiochus is totally defeated by L. C. Scipio (Asiaticus) at Magnesia in Lydia, the leader of the first Roman army that had entered Asia.

XIV. P. ÆMILIUS

- 168 586 totally defeats Perseus, king of Macedon, at Pydna.
 163 591 *The government of Judea by the Asmonæan family, or the Maccabees, begins and continues 126 years.*
 160 594 P. ÆMILIUS dies, æt. 68.
 155 599 Cernæides, in an embassy from Athens, charms the Roman senate by his eloquence.
 In this half-century *Cæcilius, Terence, Polybius, Pacuvius, Hipparchus, and Aristarchus* flourish.
 146 608 Carthage destroyed by P. Scipio (Africanus II., who died B. C. 129, æt. 56), and Corinth by L. Mummius.
 135 619 *The history of the Apocrypha ends.*
 The Servile war of three years begins in Sicily.

XXXIX. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

- 133 621 is put to death for having attempted to introduce an Agrarian law.
 Numantia is destroyed by Scipio.
 The kingdom of Pergamus is annexed to the Roman empire.
 123 631 Carthage is rebuilt, by order of the Roman senate, under the superintendence of

XL. CAIUS GRACCHUS

- 121 633 killed, æt. 23.

XXII. CAIUS MARIUS,

- 119 635 as tribune, imprisons the consul Metellus for opposing a law which he wished to carry.
 111 643 The Jugurthine War of five years begins.
 109 645 The incursions of the Teutones and Cimbri, which last eight years, begin.
 106 648 MARIUS receives Jugurtha from king Bocchus.
 102 652 ——— defeats the Teutones and Ambiones in two battles at Aquæ Sextiæ, *hodie* Aix in Provence.

B. C. A. U. C.

- 101 653 MARIUS with Catulus defeats the Cimbri, when endeavouring to enter Italy through Noricum, *hodie* the Tirol. In this half-century *Satyrus*, *Accius*, *Panætius*, *Nicander*, *Ctesibius*, *L. Cælius Antipater* the Roman historian, *Lucilius*, and *Apollodorus* flourish.
- 91 663 The Social or Marsic War of three years begins, and is terminated by SYLLA.
- 89 665 The Mithridatic War of 26 years begins.
- 88 666 The Civil War between the parties of MARIUS and SYLLA begins, and lasts till the defeat of Carbo and young Marius at Præneste B. C. 82.
- 86 668 MARIUS dies, æt. 70.

XXIV. SYLLA,

who had previously been sent into Cappadocia, takes Athens, and cuts to pieces the army of Archelaus.

- 84 670 — makes peace with Mithridates.
- 82 672 — is created dictator, and continues for three years.
- 79 675 — resigns his office, and dies the following year, æt. 60.

XXIX. L. SERTORIUS

revolts in Spain, and is assassinated B. C. 73.

XXVI. LUCULLUS

- 74 680 renews the war against Mithridates, who had occupied Bithynia, and made a league with SERTORIUS.
- 73 681 The Servile War begins under Spartacus, who dies B. C. 71.
- 69 685 LUCULLUS defeats Mithridates and Tigranes in Armenia, and takes Tigranocerta.

XXXII. POMPEY

- 67 687 begins and completes the Piratical War, æt. 40.
- 66 688 — succeeds LUCULLUS, and conquers Armenia, Syria, &c. which latter kingdom he reduces the following year to a Roman province, putting an end to the reign of the Seleucidæ.
- L. Cæc. Metellus, after a war of two years, subdues Crete.
- 60 694 POMPEY unites in the I. triumvirate* with CÆSAR and CRASSUS, engages in the Civil War with the former, B. C. 50; is besieged by him in Brundisium, and B. C. 48 loses the battle of Pharsalia, and dies.

XLII. M. T. CICERO,

who had pleaded (for P. Quinctius, æt. 26.) B. C. 81, and eleven years afterward delivered the first two orations against Verres, is elected consul, and opposes Rullus' Agrarian law, detects the conspiracy of Catiline, &c.

* The II. between Augustus, Antony, and Lepidus, is formed B. C. 43.

B.C. A.U.C.

64/690 Octavius, afterward surnamed Augustus, is born.

59/695 CICERO submits to a voluntary exile, whence he returns triumphantly the following year, and dies B. C. 44, æt. 64.

XXXIV. C. JUL. CÆSAR

58/696 begins to attack the Helvetii.

55/699 — Crosses the Rhine, defeats the Germans, and first passes into Britain, enters Rome B. C. 49, two years afterward re-takes Alexandria, B. C. 45, defeats the Pompeians at Munda in Spain, and is assassinated the following year.

XXVIII. MARCUS CRASSUS

53/701 falls, with his whole army, in an expedition against the Parthians.

In this half-century *Apellicon*, *L. Val. Antias* the Roman historian, *Hortensius*, *Posidonius*, *M. Ter. Varro*, *Lucretius*, *Catullus*, and *Sallust* flourish.

XXXVI. CATO the Younger,

46/708 after the defeat of Juba, kills himself at Utica, æt. 48.

XLVI. MARCUS BRUTUS,

42/712 and Cassius, fall by their own hands at Philippi.

XLIV. M. ANTONY

34/720 takes Artabazus, king of Armenia, prisoner.

32/722 — After a long misunderstanding with Octavius, openly prepares for war.

31/723 — Loses the battle of Actium.

30/724 — Kills himself. Egypt is reduced to a Roman province.

A.D.

XLIX. GALBA

68 is declared emperor, reigns seven months, and is succeeded by

L. OTHO,

69 who after a reign of three months, being defeated by Vitellius, kills himself.



THE
LIFE
OF
THESEUS¹.

SUMMARY.

Distinction of the fabulous and the historic ages. Points of resemblance between Theseus and Romulus. Extraction and birth of Theseus. His education, and journey to Delphi. His mother reveals to him the secret of his parentage. He emulates the exploits of Hercules : and kills Periphetes, and Sinnis ; the wild sow of Crommyon ; Sciron, and other public robbers. He arrives at Athens ; defeats the Pallantidæ ; engages, and subdues the Marathonian bull. The Cretan tribute. He offers himself as one of the victims ; embarks ; and with the assistance of Ariadne destroys the Minotaur. Different traditions about Ariadne's death. Upon his return, Theseus lands at Delos : origin of the dance of the Crane. He arrives at Athens : death of his father Ægeus. He incorporates the boroughs of Attica into one city ; institution of the Panathenæa. He divides the Athenians into classes : establishes the Isthmian games : sails to the Euxine ; and has a son (Hippolytus) by Antiope, the Amazon. The Amazonian war. He marries Phædra. Various opinions about the number of his achievements. His friendship with Pirithöus. The battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. He carries off Helen, and is imprisoned in Epirus. Intrigues of Menestheus against him. Castor and Pollux invade Athens, to recover their sister. Origin of the Academy. They are admitted into the city, by the advice of Menestheus. Theseus, on his return, finds Athens in a state of revolt : retires to Scyros ; and is treacherously destroyed by Lycomedes. His bones long afterward brought to Athens. Sacrifices instituted to his honour.

AS geographers² crowd into the extremities of their maps those countries that are unknown to them, remarking at the same time that all beyond is hills of sand and haunts of wild beasts, or inaccessible marshes, Scythian snows, and frozen oceans; so, my Senecio³, in comparing the lives of illustrious men, when I have passed through those periods of time which may be described with probability, and where history finds firm footing in facts, I may pronounce of the remoter ages, that all beyond is full of prodigy and fiction, the regions of poets and fabulists, wrapped in clouds and unworthy of belief⁴. Yet, since I had given an account of Lycurgus and Numa, I thought I might without im-

¹ With regard to the time, in which Theseus flourished, chronologists differ. The Oxford Marbles (xx.) fix the incorporation of the Attic boroughs, the establishment of the Athenian commonwealth, and the institution of the Isthmian games, to B. C. 1259: And Dufresnoy allows him a subsequent authority of thirty years. Blair refers these events to B. C. 1234, seventeen years after his Cretan expedition.*

² The term 'historians' is adopted in the original, with reference not only to the use of geography in history, but to the character of the old geographers; who, beside the sites and distances of places, gave an account of the manners, customs, government, &c. of the inhabitants: as Strabo, Pausanias, &c.*

³ Sossius Senecio, a man of consular dignity, who flourished under Nerva and Trajan; to whom Plutarch has inscribed many of his Moral Treatises, and Pliny addressed some of his Epistles: not the Senecio, put to death by Domitian for having written the life of Helvidius Priscus. (Tac. Agric. 2, 45.)

⁴ The wild fictions of the fabulous ages may partly be accounted for from the genius of the writers, who (as Plutarch observes) were chiefly poets; and partly from an affectation of something extraordinary or preternatural in antiquity, which has generally prevailed both in nations and families. (L.)

A similar incertitude Thucydides (i. 1.), more than five hundred years before Plutarch, ascribes to the times anterior to the Peloponnesian war (which commenced B. C. 431.) where he speaks of the Trojan and Median conflicts, the latter not a century earlier than himself. What then must we think of an æra nearly eight hundred years prior to the Median war!*

propriety ascend to Romulus, as I had approached his times. But considering

Who, for the palm, in contest high shall join?
Or who in equal rank shall stand?

(as Æschylus expresses it⁵) it appeared to me that he, who peopled⁶ the beautiful and celebrated city of Athens, might be best contrasted and compared with the father of the magnificent and invincible Rome. Permit us then to take from Fable her extravagance, and make her obediently accept the form of History: but where she obstinately despises probability, and refuses to mix with what is credible, we must implore the candour of our readers, and their kind allowance for the tales of antiquity.

THESEUS, then, appeared to answer to Romulus in many particulars. Both were of uncertain parentage, born out of wedlock; and both had the repute of being sprung from the gods. Both, we all know, were warriors⁷; and both, with great strength of body, had great powers of mind. One was the founder of Rome, and one peopled Athens, the most illustrious cities in the world. Both carried off women by violence. Both were involved in domestic miseries, and exposed to family-resentment; and both, toward the end of their lives, are said to have offended their respective citizens, if we may believe what seems to be delivered with the least mixture of poetical fiction.

The lineage of Theseus, by his father's side, extends upwards to Erechtheus and the first inhabitants

⁵ Περ. εστ. Θησ. 437. *

⁶ The city, according to the Marbles, was *founded* by Cecrops, B. C. 1532.; but by Blair's computation, B. C. 1556. See Chronol. Table. *

⁷ Hom. Il. vii. 281. *

of his country⁸; by his mother's side to Pelops⁹, who was the most powerful of all the Peloponnesian kings, not only on account of his great opulence, but the number of his children; for he married his daughters to persons of the first dignity, and found means to place his sons at the head of the chief states. One of them named Pittheus, the grandfather of Theseus, founded the small city of Trœzene¹⁰, and was esteemed the wisest and the most learned man of his age. The essence of the wisdom of those days consisted in such moral sentences, as Hesiod¹¹ is commended for in his Book of Works. One of these is ascribed to Pittheus:

Blast not the hope, which friendship has conceived,
But fill it's measure high.

⁸ Theseus was the sixth in descent from Erechtheus or Erichthonius, said to be the son of Vulcan and Minerva, or Cranaë grand-daughter of Cranius the second king of Athens; so that Plutarch justly states him to have descended from the Autochthones, or first inhabitants of Attica, so called because they pretended to be born of the soil of that very country. They were, indeed, a more ancient people than those of many other districts of Greece; which from their fertility, more frequently changed their masters, while few were ambitious of settling in a barren country. (L.) This we learn both from Herod. vii., and Thucyd. i. 2. 6. The 'golden grasshoppers,' mentioned in the latter section, the Scholiast refers (among other sources) to this assumed terrene extraction.

⁹ Pelops was the son of Tantalus, and of Phrygian extraction. He carried with him immense riches into Peloponnesus, which he had dug out of the mines of mount Sipylus. By means of this wealth, he obtained the government of the most considerable towns for his sons, of whom he had eleven, and married his two daughters to princes (L.): Lysidice to Alectryon or Nestor, son of Perseus king of Tirynthus; and Astydannia to Sthenelus, king of Mycenæ.*

¹⁰ A city of Argolis, in Peloponnesus. Pausanias gives nearly the same account of Pittheus, and says that he taught rhetoric at Trœzene. 'I have read myself' (he adds) 'a book of his composition, which was given to me by a man of Epidaurus.' (ii. 30. 31.)*

¹¹ Hesiod flourished about five hundred years after Pittheus. This passage occurs *Epy. xxi. ll. 368.*

This is confirmed by Aristotle : and Euripides, in saying that Hippolytus was taught by “ the venerable Pittheus,” bears very honourable testimony to his character.

Ægeus, wishing to have children, is said to have received from the oracle at Delphi that celebrated answer, which commanded him not to approach any woman before he returned to Athens. But, as the oracle seemed not to give him clear instruction, he came to Trœzene, and communicated it to Pittheus in the following terms :

The mystic vessel shall untouch'd remain,
Till in thy Attic realm—

It is uncertain, what Pittheus saw in this oracle. Either by persuasion however, or by deceit, he drew Ægeus into intercourse with his daughter Æthra. Ægeus afterward learning that she with whom he had lain was Pittheus' daughter, and suspecting her to be with child, hid a sword and a pair of sandals under a large stone, which had a cavity for the purpose. Before his departure, he disclosed the secret to the princess only ; and gave orders that if she brought forth a son, who when he came to manhood should be able to remove the stone, and take away the things left under it, she should send him with those tokens to him in all imaginable privacy ; for he was extremely afraid, that some plot would be formed against him by the Pallantidæ, who despised him for his want of children. These were fifty brothers, the sons of Pallas¹².

Æthra was delivered of a son¹³ ; and some say he

¹² Pallas was brother to Ægeus ; and, as Ægeus was supposed to have no children, the Pallantidæ considered the kingdom of Athens as their undoubted inheritance.

¹³ According to Pausanias, he was born in a place, thence for a long time called Genethlion, near the harbour of Trœzene ; whither Pittheus had purposely sent his daughter, in order to filiate the child to Neptune with a better grace.*

was immediately named Theseus¹⁴, because of the laying up of the tokens; others, that he received his name afterward at Athens, when Ægeus adopted him for his son. He was brought up by Pittheus, and had a tutor named Connidas, to whom the Athenians even in our times sacrifice a ram¹⁵, on the day preceding the Thesean Feasts; paying this honour to his memory upon a much juster account than that which they pay to Silanion and Parrhasius¹⁶, who only made statues and pictures of Theseus.

As it was then the custom for those, who had attained the age of manhood, to go to Delphi to offer the first-fruits of their hair to Apollo, Theseus went thither; and the place, where this ceremony is performed, is said from him to be still called Theséa. He shaved however only the fore-part of his head, as Homer informs us the Abantes did¹⁷; and this kind

¹⁴ The Greeks, as well as the Hebrews, gave names both to persons and things from some event or circumstance attending that, which they were to designate. The Greek word *θεσις* signifies 'laying up' (the sword, &c.), and *θεταί υἱος*, 'to adopt a son.' Ægeus did both; the ceremony of adoption being necessary to enable Theseus, who was not a legitimate son, to inherit the crown.

¹⁵ Hence the proverb *Κριεῖ τρεφεῖα ἀπέτισεν*, implying that the greatest reverence alone can discharge the debt incurred to a tutor for his services.*

¹⁶ A portrait of Theseus by Parrhasius, representing his combat with the Minotaur, was extant in the Capitol so late as the time of the elder Pliny (H. N. xxxv. 10.) This illustrious painter flourished about four centuries before Christ.

Silanion, an eminent statuary in bronze, was nearly contemporary with Alexander the Great.*

¹⁷ The Abantes were the inhabitants of Eubœa, but originally of Abœ, a town in Thrace. (L.) From this passage it appears, that Plutarch refers the custom to a period more remote than the age of Theseus; but Eustathius expressly derives it's origin from this prince, and says that the offering was made not at Delphi, but at Delos. And that it prevailed only among the Trœzenians, and after the æra of Theseus, is clear from Lucian, who says it was instituted in honour of Hippolytus, and invariably practised by the young of both sexes, as a necessary qualification for marriage. At the period of manhood the hair, till then unmolested, was cut in the temple, deposited in a gold or silver vase inscribed with the owner's name, and consecrated to Apollo.*

of tonsure, on his account, was called Thesëis. The Abantes first cut their hair in this manner, not in imitation of the Arabians (as some imagine) or of the Mysians; but because they were a warlike people, who loved close fighting, and were more expert in it than any other nation. Thus Archilochus¹⁸:

These twang not bows, nor sling the hissing stone,
When Mars exults, and fields with armies groan:
Far nobler skill Eubœa's sons display,
And with the thundering sword decide the fray.

That they might not therefore give advantage to their enemies by their hair, they took care to cut it off. And we are told that Alexander of Macedon, having made the same observation, ordered his Macedonian troops to shave their beards, these being a ready handle in battle.

For some time Æthra concealed the name of Theseus' real father, but the report propagated by Pittheus was, that he was the son of Neptune; for the Trœzenians principally worship that God: he is the patron of their city; to him they offer their first-fruits; and their money bears the impression of a trident. Theseus, in his youth, discovering not only great strength of body but firmness and solidity of mind, together with a large share of understanding and prudence, Æthra led him to the stone; and, having told him the truth concerning his origin, ordered him to take up his father's tokens, and sail to Athens. The stone¹⁹ he easily removed; but he refused to go by sea, though he might have

¹⁸ Archilochus was a Greek poet, who lived about the time of Romulus. Homer had given the same account of the Abantes, above three hundred years before. The Abantes, he informs us (ii. 541, 542.), pierced the breast-plates of their enemies with extended spears or pikes; that is to say, they fought hand to hand.

¹⁹ Thenceforward, it was called 'Theseus' Stone.' It had previously been denominated, the 'Altar of Jupiter Sthenius.' A beautiful cornelian, representing this first effort of the hero, was in the Orleans cabinet!*

done it with the utmost safety, and was strongly entreated to it by his grandfather and his mother, as it was hazardous at that time to travel by land to Athens, on account of the general prevalence of ruffians and robbers. Those times, indeed, produced men of great and indefatigable powers of body, of extraordinary swiftness and agility; but they applied their powers to nothing just or useful. On the contrary their genius, their disposition, and their pleasures tended only to insolence, to violence, and to rapine. Modesty, justice, equity, and humanity, they regarded as qualities, in which the strong had no kind of concern; virtues, praised by those only who were afraid of being injured, and who on the same principle of fear, abstained from injuring others. Some of these ruffians were cut off by Hercules in his peregrinations, while others escaped to their lurking-holes, and were spared by the hero in contempt of their cowardice. But when Hercules had unfortunately killed Iphitus, he retired to Lydia, where for a long time he was a slave to Omphale²⁰, a punishment which he imposed upon himself for the murder. The Lydians, during that period, enjoyed great quiet and security; but in Greece the same kind of enormities broke out anew, there being no one to restrain or quell them. It was, therefore, extremely dangerous to go by land from Peloponnesus to Athens; and Pittheus, acquainting Theseus

²⁰ Those who had been guilty of murder became voluntary exiles, and imposed upon themselves a certain penance, which they continued till they thought their crime expiated. (L.) Hercules had rashly thrown Iphitus headlong from the walls of Tirynthus, in resentment of a breach of faith by his father Eurytus, who had promised to him his daughter Iole upon certain conditions, and afterward refused to fulfil his engagement. In consequence of this event, he applied first to Neleus at Pylus, who denied him the necessary lustration; and next, with somewhat better success, to Deiphobus at Amyclæ. But, being still afflicted with a severe illness, he consulted the Delphic oracle; and was answered, that he must spend three years in servitude, in order to obtain an effectual cure. Upon which, Mercury sold him to Omphale, queen of Lydia. (Apollod. II.)*

with the number of these ruffians and with their cruel treatment of strangers, advised him to go thither by sea. But he had long been secretly fired with the glory of Hercules, whom he held in the highest esteem; listening with the utmost attention to such as related his achievements, particularly to those who had seen him, conversed with him, and been witnesses of his various prowess. He was affected in the same manner as Themistocles afterward was, when he declared that the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep.* The virtues of Hercules were his dream by night, and by day emulation led him out, and spurred him on to perform some exploits of a similar nature. Besides, they were nearly related, being born of cousin-germans; for Æthra was the daughter of Pittheus and Alcmena of Lysidice, and Pittheus and Lysidice were brother and sister by Pelops and Hippodamia. He considered it therefore as an insupportable dishonour, that Hercules should traverse both sea and land to rid them of those banditti, while he himself declined such adventures as occurred unsought; disgracing his reputed father, if he took his voyage or rather flight by sea, and carrying to his real father a pair of sandals and a sword unstained with blood, instead of the ornament of great and good actions, to add lustre to his noble birth. With such thoughts and resolutions as these he set forward, determined to injure no one, but to take vengeance of such as should offer him any violence.

He was first attacked by Periphetes in Epidauria²¹, whose weapon was a club, and who upon that account was called Corynetes, or ‘the Club-bearer.’ He engaged with him and slew him. Delighted with the club, he took it for his weapon, and bore it as Hercules did the lion’s skin. The skin was a proof of the vast size of the wild beast, which that

* See the Life of Themistocles.*

²¹ A district of Peloponnesus.*

hero had slain; and Theseus carried about with him this club, whose stroke he indeed had been able to parry, but which in his hand was irresistible. In the Isthmus he slew Sinnis 'the Pine-bender'²², in the same manner as he had destroyed many others: and this he did, not as having learned or practised the bending of those trees, but to prove that natural strength is above all art. Sinnis had a daughter remarkable for her beauty and stature, named Perigune, who concealed herself when her father was killed. Theseus however made diligent search for her, and found her at last in a place overgrown with shrubs, and rushes, and wild asparagus. In her childish simplicity she addressed her prayers and vows to these plants and bushes, as if they had a sense of her misfortune; promising, if they would save and hide her, that she would never burn or destroy them. But Theseus pledging himself to treat her honourably, she came to him, and in due time brought him a son named Melanippus. Afterward, with his permission, she married Deïoneus, the son of Eurytus the Æchalian. Melanippus had a son named Iöxus, who joined with Ornytus in planting a colony in Caria; and hence sprung the Iöxides, with whom it is an inviolable rule, not to burn either rushes or wild asparagus, but to honour and worship them.

About this time Crommyon was infested by a wild sow named Phæä²³, a fierce and formidable creature. This savage he attacked and killed²⁴, going

²² So called from his bending the heads of two pines, and tying passengers between the opposite branches, which by their sudden return tore them to pieces. (L.)

Pausanias, who (as well as Ovid, Met. vii. 40.) calls him Sinis, says that one of these pines remained till the time of Hadrian. (ii. l.)²⁵

²³ Φαῖα, 'dun' or 'dark-coloured.' This sow, according to Strabo, produced the Calydonian boar, killed by Meleager.

Crommyon was on the border dividing Corinth from Megara.*

²⁴ In this instance our hero deviated from the principle, upon which he set out, never to be the aggressor in any engagement.

out of his way to engage her, and thus displaying an act of voluntary valour: for he believed it equally became a brave man to stand upon his defence against abandoned ruffians, and to seek out and begin the combat with strong and savage animals. But some say, that Phæä was an abandoned female robber who dwelt in Crommyon, received the name of ‘ Sow ’ on account of her life and manners, and was afterward slain by Theseus.

On the borders of Megara he destroyed Sciron, by casting him headlong from a precipice: a robber, as the story is generally related; but as others affirm, one who in wanton villainy used to make strangers wash his feet, and to take those opportunities to kick and push them into the sea. The writers of Megara however, in contradiction to this report, and (as Simonides expresses it) “ fighting with all antiquity,” assert that Sciron was neither a robber nor a ruffian, but on the contrary a destroyer of robbers, and a man whose heart and house were ever open to the good and the honest. For Æacus (say they) was looked upon as the justest man in Greece, Cychreus of Salamis had divine honours paid him at Athens, and the virtue of Peleus and Telamon also was universally known. Now Sciron was the son-in-law of Cychreus, the father-in-law of Æacus, and the grandfather of Peleus and Telamon, who were both of them sons of Endëis²⁵, the daughter of Sciron and Chariclo: and it was not probable, that the best of men should make such alliances with one of so vile a character, giving and receiving the greatest and dearest of pledges. Besides, we are told that Theseus did not slay Sciron in his first journey

The wild sow was, certainly, not a less respectable animal than ‘ the Pine-bender.’

²⁵ Apollodorus makes her the daughter of Chiron; but, beside the resemblance of the names (which might easily lead a transcriber of that author into the mistake) it is highly probable that Plutarch’s statement is the more correct, as he builds an argument upon the connexion; and Pausanias gives the same account. (ii. 1.)*

to Athens; but afterward, when he took Eleusis from the Megarensians, having expelled Diocles, its chief magistrate, by a stratagem. In such contradictions are these things involved.

At Eleusis he engaged in wrestling with Cercyon the Arcadian, and killed him on the spot²⁶. Proceeding to Hermione²⁷, he put a period to the cruelties of Damastes, surnamed Procrustes, making his body fit the size of his own beds, as that barbarian had previously treated strangers. These things he did in imitation of Hercules: for that hero always returned upon the aggressors the same sort of treatment which they had intended for himself; having sacrificed Busiris, destroyed Antæus in wrestling, killed Cygnus in single combat, and broken the skull of Termerus: whence this is called 'the Termerian mischief'²⁸; as Termerus it seems destroyed the passengers he met, by dashing his head against theirs. Thus Theseus pursued his travels to punish abandoned wretches, who suffered from him the same kind of death that they had inflicted upon others, and were requited with vengeance appropriate to their crimes.

In his progress he came to the Cephissus, where he was first saluted by some of the Phytalidæ²⁹.

²⁶ That spot, even in Pausanias' time, was called 'Cercyon's Palæstra.' Cercyon was the first who used art in his wrestling (i. 39); but Minerva, by her training, enabled Theseus to gain the victory.*

²⁷ This seems to be a mistake; for we know of no place called Harmione, or Hermione, between Eleusis and Athens. Pausanias calls it Erione; and the authors of the Universal History, after Philochorus, call it Termione.

²⁸ Other originations of this proverb are assigned by other authors. Suidas derives it from a strong place in Caria (between Melos and Halicarnassus) called Termerium, which was used by tyrants as a dungeon: Apostolius and Suidas refer it to the last day of life, called Termia. See also Erasm. Chil. I. i. 89., &c.*

²⁹ These were the descendents of Phytalus, with whom Ceres entrusted the secret of the cultivation of the fig-tree, and the superintendence of her Mysteries, in recompence for the hospitality with which she had been treated at his house. To those Mysteries, Theseus thought himself unfit to be admitted without expiation, be-

Upon his desire to have the customary purifications, they granted them in due form, and having offered propitiatory sacrifices, invited him to their houses. This was the first hospitable treatment which he met with on the road. He is said to have arrived at Athens on the eighth day of the month Cronius, which now they call Hecatombeon. There he found the state full of troubles and distraction, and the royal family in extreme disorder: for Medea, who had fled from Corinth, had promised by her art to enable Ægeus to have children, and was admitted to his bed. She first discovering Theseus, whom his father had not yet recognised, persuaded the old king (now in years, and full of jealousies and suspicions) on account of the faction that prevailed in the city, to prepare an entertainment for him as a stranger, and take him off by poison. Theseus, coming to the banquet, did not intend to declare himself at first; but, willing to give his father occasion to find him out, when the meat was served up he drew his sword³⁰, as if he designed to carve with it, and took care it should attract his notice. Ægeus, quickly perceiving it, dashed down the cup of poison, and after some questions embraced him as his son: then, assembling the people, he acknowledged him also in

cause he had dipped his hands in blood, though it was only that of thieves and robbers. (L.) This idea of purification the ancients carried to such an extreme, that even Apollo himself was obliged to submit to the lustral ceremony, after he had slain the serpent Python, the destroyer of Greece. The expiation of Theseus took place at the altar of Jupiter Pacificus, near the Cephissus. (Pausan. i. 37.)*

³⁰ Some needless learning has been adduced to show, that in the heroic times they carved with a cutlass or large knife, and not with a sword; and that, consequently, Plutarch must be mistaken: but, as *μαχαίρα* signifies either a cutlass or a sword, how do we know that it was a sword, and not a cutlass, which Ægeus hid under the stone? (L.) Because *ἐπίρρις* is the term used upon that occasion. The more probable interpretation is, that in drawing his hanger to carve with, he (perhaps necessarily) threw back his cloke, and thus contrived to show the well-known sword. To justify this version, it is only requisite to supply the word *ἐπίρρις*, as by some accident omitted.*

their presence; and by them he was received with great satisfaction, on account of his valour. The cup is said to have fallen, and the poison to have been spilled, where the inclosure now is in the place called Delphinium; for there it was that Ægeus dwelt: and the Mercury, which stands on the eastern side of the temple, is yet called 'the Mercury of Ægeus' gate.'

The Pallantidæ, who had hoped to recover the kingdom if Ægeus died childless, lost all patience when Theseus was declared his successor. Exasperated at the thought that Ægeus (who was not in the least allied to the Erechthidæ, but only adopted by Pandion³¹) should first gain the crown, and afterward Theseus, an emigrant and a stranger, they prepared for war: and, dividing their forces, one party marched openly with their father from Sphetus to the city; while the other, concealing themselves in Gargettus, lay in ambush, with a design to attack the enemy from two several quarters. They had with them a herald named Leos, of the tribe of Agnus. This man carried to Theseus an account of all the designs of the Pallantidæ; upon which he immediately attacked those that lay in ambush, and destroyed them. Pallas and his company, being informed of this, thought fit to disperse. Hence, it is said, the tribe of Pallene never intermarry with the Agnusians, nor suffer any proclamation to begin with these words, *Akouete Leos*, 'Hear, O ye people;' for they hate the very name of Leos, on account of that herald's treachery.

Theseus, desirous to keep himself in action, and at the same time courting the favour of the people, went in quest of the Marathonian bull, which did no small mischief to the inhabitants of Tetrapolis³².

³¹ It had been actually reported, that Ægeus was not the son of Pandion, but of Scyrias.

³² A district of Attica, so denominated from containing four cities (Zēnoë, Marathon, Probalinthus, and Trycorithus) founded by Nuthus, son-in-law of Erechtheus.*

When he had taken him, he brought him alive in triumph through the city, and afterward sacrificed him to the Delphinian Apollo³³. Hecale also, and the story of her receiving and entertaining Theseus, do not appear wholly destitute of foundation: for the people in that neighbourhood assembled to perform the Hecalesian rites to Jupiter Hecalus, and paid honour to Hecale too, addressing her by the diminutive ‘Hecalenē;’ because when she entertained Theseus, while he was but a youth, she caressed him as persons in years use to do children, and called him by such tender diminutive names. She vowed moreover, when he went to battle, to offer sacrifices to Jupiter, if he returned safe; but, as she died before the end of the expedition, Theseus performed those holy rites in testimony of the grateful sense which he had of her hospitality. So Philochorus relates the story³⁴.

Not long afterward, there came the third time from Crete the collectors of the tribute, exacted on the following occasion: Androgeus³⁵ having been treacherously slain in Attica, a fatal war was carried on against that country by Minos, and Divine Vengeance laid it waste; for it was visited by famine and pestilence, and want of water increased their misery. The remedy that Apollo proposed was, that they should appease Minos, and be reconciled to him; upon which the wrath of Heaven would cease, and their calamities come to a period. In consequence of this, they despatched ambassadors with their submission; and, as most writers agree, engaged themselves by treaty to send every ninth

³³ This sacrifice Diod. Sic. (iv. 59.) ascribes to Ægeus.*

³⁴ Philochorus was an Athenian historian, who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philopater, about two hundred years before Christ. He wrote many valuable pieces, of which a list is given in Suidas; but none of them remain, except a few fragments preserved by other writers.

³⁵ Some say, Ægeus caused him to be murdered, because he was in the interest of the Pallantidæ; others, that he was killed by the Marathonian bull.

year a tribute of seven young men and as many virgins. When these were brought into Crete, as the fabulous account informs us, they were destroyed by the Minotaur³⁶ in the Labyrinth, or wandering about and unable to find the way out of it, perished in it's mazes. The Minotaur, according to Euripides, was

A mingled form prodigious to behold,
Half-bull, half-man!

The Cretans, however, according to Philochorus, deny this, and contend that the Labyrinth was only a prison, of which the sole inconvenience was, that those who were confined in it could not escape: and, Minos having instituted games in honour of Androgeus, the prize for the victors was those youths, who had been kept till that time in the Labyrinth. He that first won the prizes in those games was Taurus, a person of high authority in the court of Minos, and general of his armies; and being unmerciful and savage in his nature, he had treated the Athenian youths with great insolence and cruelty. Aristotle himself likewise, in his Account of the Botticean Government³⁷, obviously supposes, not that the young men were put to death by Minos, but that they lived, some of them to old age, in servile employments in Crete. He adds that the Cretans, in pursuance of an ancient vow, once sent a number of their first-born to Delphi, among whom were some of the descendents of these Athenian slaves; who, not being able to support themselves there, first passed thence into Italy, where they settled about Iapygia; and again migrated subsequently

³⁶ Feigned by the poets to have been begotten by a bull upon Pasiphaë, Minos' queen; inspired it seems with this horrid passion by Neptune, in revenge for Minos' having refused him a beautiful bull, which he expected as an offering. (L.) The solution of this story, offered by Palephatus (II.) is not very probable.*

³⁷ Which, with many other of his accounts of the same nature, is unfortunately lost.*

into Thrace, and were called Botticeans. Wherefore the Botticean virgins, in some solemnities of religion, sing, "To Athens let us go." And indeed it seems dangerous to be at enmity with a city, which is the seat of eloquence and learning, for Minos was always a subject of satire upon the Athenian stage: neither was his fame sufficiently rescued by Hesiod's calling him 'Supreme of Kings,' or Homer's³⁸ saying that he "conversed with Jove;" since the writers of tragedy prevailing represented him as a man vicious³⁹, violent, and implacable: stating however at the same time, inconsistently enough, that he was a king and a legislator; and that Rhadamanthus, an upright judge, was the guardian of his laws.

When the time of the third tribute came, and those parents who had sons not arrived at full maturity were obliged to resign them to the lot, complaints against Ægeus sprung up again among the people; who expressed their grief and resentment, that he who was the cause of all their misfortunes bore no part of the punishment, and while he was adopting and raising to the succession a stranger of spurious birth, felt nothing for those that were losing their legitimate children. This was matter of deep concern to Theseus, who, to express his regard for justice, and take his share in the common fortune, voluntarily offered himself as one of the seven without lot*. The citizens were charmed with this proof of his magnanimity, and public spirit; and Ægeus himself, when he saw that no entreaties or persua-

³⁸ Od. xix. 179.—*Διός μετὰ τὸν ἐμὸν φίλον*. Might not this fable be founded upon Exod. xxxiii. 11. 'And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend.'*

³⁹ This is a mistake, into which Plutarch and several other writers (among the rest, Plato) have fallen. There were two of the name of Minos. One, the son of Jupiter and Europa, was a just and excellent prince; the other, his grandson and the son of Lycastes, of whom Plutarch is here speaking as the father of Androgeus, was a tyrant.

* *Ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρῳ, ἀνὴρ κληρὸς προσέχθων*. (Wakefield, Silv. Crit. iv. 133.)*

sions availed to change his purpose, gave out the lots for the rest of the young men. Hellanicus however says, that the youths and virgins which the city furnished were not chosen by lot, but that Minos came in person and selected them, and Theseus before the rest, upon these conditions: that the Athenians should furnish a vessel, and the young men embark and sail along with him, but without arms; and that, if they could kill the Minotaur, there should be an end of the tribute. There having appeared no hopes of safety for the youths in the two former tributes, they had sent out a ship with a black sail, as carrying them to certain ruin. But Ægeus being encouraged by his son's confidence of success against the Minotaur, gave another sail (a white one) to the pilot, ordering him, if he brought Theseus safe back, to hoist the white; if not, to sail with the black one in token of his misfortune. Simonides informs us, that it was not a white sail which Ægeus gave, but a scarlet one dyed with the juice of the flower of a very flourishing holm-oak⁴⁰, and that this was to be the signal that all was well. He adds that Phereclus, the son of Amarsyas, was pilot of the ship: but Philochorus says, that Theseus had a pilot sent him by Sciras from Salamis, named Nausitheus, and one Phæax to stand at the prow,

⁴⁰ It is not the flower, but the fruit of the *Quercus Ilex* (a low evergreen oak, with the prickly leaves of the holly, *aquifolium*) full of little worms, which the Arabians call Kermes, from which a scarlet dye is procured (L.)

Of this fruit Theophrastus speaks, in his History of Plants, as well as Pliny, H. N. xxiv. 4.: Beckmann likewise proves that it was used as a dye in very remote antiquity, and was soon so much improved, as to excel and finally to supersede the celebrated Tyrian purple. In the middle ages kermes occurs under the name *vermiculus* or *vermiculum*, whence cloth dyed with it was called *vermiculata*; and the French *vermeil*, with it's offspring the English *vermilion*, is derived. In Spain, where the best is produced, it forms at present a valuable branch of commerce. For the mode of gathering and preparing it, &c. see ENCYCL. BRIT. art. *Coccus Ilcis*. There is a valuable paper also by Mr. Hatchett on Lac in the Phil. Trans. for 1804, Part II. which would abundantly repay the reader for the trouble of procuring and perusing it.*

because as yet the Athenians had not applied themselves to navigation⁴¹; and that Sciras did this, because one of the young men, named Menesthes, was his daughter's son. This is confirmed by the monuments of Nausitheus and Phæax, built by Theseus at Phalerum near the Temple of Sciron; and the feast called Cybernesia or 'the Pilots' Feast,' is said to be kept to their honour.

When the lots were cast, Theseus taking with him out of the Prytaneum⁴² those upon whom they fell, went to the Delphinian temple, and made an offering for them to Apollo. This offering was a branch of consecrated olive, bound about with white wool. Having finished his devotions, he embarked on the sixth of the month Munychion; at which time they still send the virgins to Delphinium, to propitiate the god. It is reported, that the oracle at Delphi commanded him to take Venus for his guide, and entreat her to be his companion in the voyage; and that, while he was sacrificing to her a she-goat on the sea-shore, it's sex was instantly

⁴¹ The Athenians, according to Homer, sent fifty ships to Troy; but these were only transport-ships. Thucydides assures us, that they did not begin to make any figure at sea till ten or twelve years after the battle of Marathon, nearly seven hundred years after the siege of Troy. (L.)

That so shortly after their application to maritime affairs, which only commenced under Theseus, they should have been able to send so many vessels to Troy; and that, after a lapse of almost seven centuries, their navy should still be in it's infancy, though it was so soon to attain it's mighty maturity, are singular circumstances in the history of that great people. Themistocles, however, was the chief cause of their last sudden advance.*

⁴² In this place the ruling senators, called Prytanes, assembled; and here likewise were supported, at the public expense, those citizens who were decreed to have 'deserved well of their country.' To the latter noble custom Milton, speaking of the kind treatment which he experienced in his blindness from the English republican leaders, has the following allusion: '*humana qualia sint reputantes, tanquam emerito favent, indulgent, vacationem atque otium faciles concedunt—eodem planè honore ac si, ut olim Atheniensibus mos erat, in Prytaneo alendum decrevisset.*' (Def. Sec.)*

changed : hence the goddess had the name of Epi-tragia⁴³.

When he arrived in Crete, according to most historians and poets, Ariadne falling in love with him, gave him a clue of thread, and instructed him how to pass with it through the intricacies of the Labyrinth. Thus assisted, he killed the Minotaur⁴⁴, and then set sail, carrying off Ariadne and her young companions. Pherecydes⁴⁵ says, that Theseus broke up the keels of the Cretan ships, to prevent their pursuit. But, according to Demon's statement, he slew Taurus, Minos' commander, who engaged him in the harbour just as he was ready to set sail. Again, according to Philochorus, when Minos was celebrating the games in honour of his son, it was believed that Taurus would bear away the prizes in them as formerly, and every one grudged him that honour ; for his excessive power and arrogance were intolerable, and he was farther accused of too great a familiarity with Pasiphaë : when Theseus therefore requested permission to encounter him, Minos readily consented. In Crete it was the custom for the women, as well as the men, to see the games ; and Ariadne, being present, was struck with the person of Theseus, and with his superior vigour and address in the wrestling-ring. Minos too was greatly delighted, especially when he saw Taurus vanquished

⁴³ To this story most probably is to be referred Montfaucon's figure of a Venus on the waves, stretched upon a goat, which she holds by the beard, and attended by Cupids on dolphins, Tritons, &c. (*Antiq. expliquée*, i. 10.)*

⁴⁴ In one of the most exquisite paintings found at Herculaneum, Theseus is represented as trampling upon the Minotaur (which has the head of a bull upon a human body) while young children are kissing his hands, and clasping his knees.*

⁴⁵ There were two illustrious ancients of this name : the elder of Seyros, the tutor of Thales and Pythagoras, and surnamed 'the Theologian,' first taught in Greece the immortality of the soul (Cic. Tusc. i. 16.) ; the other (to whom Plutarch most probably refers) was an historian of Leros, an island in the Ægean sea, and but little senior to Herodotus.*

and disgraced; and this induced him to give up the young men to Theseus, and to remit the tribute. Clidemus ⁴⁶, beginning higher, gives as usual a prolix account of these matters. There was (it seems) a decree throughout all Greece, that no vessel should sail with more than five hands, except the Argo commanded by Jason, who was appointed to clear the sea of pirates. But when Dædalus escaped by sea to Athens, Minos pursuing him with his men of war, contrary to the decree, was driven by a storm to Sicily, and there ended his life. And when Deucalion his successor in a hostile manner demanded of the Athenians, that they should deliver up Dædalus; and threatened, if they did not, to put to death the hostages that Minos had received; Theseus gave him a mild answer, alleging that Dædalus was his near relation, being son to Merope the daughter of Erechtheus. At the same time he privately prepared a fleet, part of it among the Thymætadæ at a distance from any public road, and part under the direction of Pittheus at Trœzene. With this, as soon as it was ready, he set sail; taking Dædalus and the rest of the fugitives from Crete for his guides. The Cretans having received no information of the matter, and when they saw his fleet regarding them as friends, he easily gained the harbour, and disembarking proceeded immediately to Gnossus. There he engaged with Deucalion and his guards, before the gates of the Labyrinth, and slew them. The government then devolving on Ariadne, he entered into an agreement with her, by which he recovered the young captives, and made a perpetual league between the Athenians and the Cretans, both sides swearing to proceed to hostilities no more.

There are many other reports about these things, and as many concerning Ariadne, but none of any

⁴⁶ Vossius (De Hist. Gr. iii.) mentions an historian of this name, who wrote an Account of Attica, and of the Unexpected Returns of those that had been long absent: under either head this narrative might occur.*

certainty. For some say that, being deserted by Theseus, she hanged herself; others, that she was carried by the mariners to Naxos, and there married Onarus the priest of Bacchus⁴⁷, Theseus having left her for another mistress;

Fair *Ægle's* charms had pierced the hero's heart.

For Herceas the Megarensian informs us, that Pisis-tratus⁴⁸ struck this line out of Hesiod; as on the contrary, to gratify the Athenians, he added this other to Homer's description of the state of the dead:

The godlike Theseus, and the great Pirithöus.

Some affirm, that Ariadne had two sons by Theseus, Cænopion and Staphylus. With these agrees Ion of Chios⁴⁹, who says of his native city, that it was built by Cænopion the son of Theseus.

But the most striking passages of the poets, relative to these things, are in every body's mouth. Something more particular is delivered by Pæon the Amathusian. By him we are told, that Theseus being driven by a storm to Cyprus, and having with him Ariadne, who was big with child, and extremely discomposed by the agitation of the waves, set her on shore and left her alone, while he returned to take care of the ship; but by a violent wind he was forced out again to sea: that the women of the country received Ariadne kindly, consoled her under her loss, and brought her feigned letters as from Theseus: that they attended and assisted her, when she fell in labour, and as she died in child-bed, paid

⁴⁷ Whence, undoubtedly, the current fable of her having married Bacchus himself.*

⁴⁸ The tyrant of Athens, who however, as appears from Plutarch's Life of Solon, cherished and cultivated letters.*

⁴⁹ A tragic writer, contemporary with Pericles. All his dramatic works are lost, but some fragments of his elegies are preserved by Athenæus.*

her funeral honours: that Theseus on his return, deeply afflicted at the news, left money with the inhabitants, ordering them to pay divine honours to Ariadne; and caused two little statues of her to be made, one of silver and the other of brass: that they celebrate her festival on the second of the month Soriæus, when a young man lies down, and imitates the cries and gestures of a woman in travail: and that the Amathusians call the grove, in which they show her tomb, ‘the Grove of Venus Ariadne.’

Some of the Naxian writers relate, that there were two Minoses, and two Ariadnes; one of whom was married to Bacchus in Naxos, and had a son named Staphylus; the other of a later age, being carried off by Theseus and afterward deserted, came to Naxos with her nurse Corcyne, whose tomb is still shown: that this Ariadne died there, and had honours paid to her different from those of the former; for the feasts of one were celebrated with mirth and revels, while the sacrifices of the other were mixed with sorrow and mourning⁵⁰.

Theseus, in his return from Crete, put in at Delos⁵¹; and having sacrificed to Apollo, and dedicated a statue of Venus which he received from Ariadne⁵², joined with the young men in a dance,

⁵⁰ The feasts of Ariadne, the wife of Bacchus, were celebrated with joy, to denote that she was become a divinity; the sacrifices of the other Ariadne signified, that she fell like a mere mortal.

⁵¹ Hence arose the custom of sending annually a deputation from Athens to Delos, to sacrifice to Apollo.

⁵² This was a small wooden statue, carved by Dædalus, with a square base instead of feet; which were first added to statues by that artist, but only in his last works. Ariadne probably received it from Dædalus, and carried it off with her in her flight. And Theseus (as the Delians add) dedicated it to Apollo, lest if he retained it in his possession, it should remind him of it's lost mistress. (Pausan. ix. 40.) It is mentioned also by Callimachus (Hymn. in Del. 337) as crowned on festival days with flowers.

It may be subjoined, that M. l'Abbé Barthelemy (in his *Voyage d'Anacharsis*) ascribes the above important improvement in statuary to a later Dædalus of Sicily, without however disputing the existence of the first. This he infers from the consideration, that

which the Delians are said to practise at this day. It consists in an imitation of the mazes and outlets of the Labyrinth; and, with various involutions and evolutions, is performed in regular time. This kind of dance, as Dicæarchus⁵³ informs us, is called by the Delians the Crane⁵⁴. He danced it round the altar Keraton⁵⁵, which was built entirely of the left-side horns of beasts. He is also said to have instituted games in Delos, where he began the custom of giving a palm to the victors.

When they drew near to Attica, both Theseus and the pilot were so transported with joy, that they forgot to hoist the sail, the appointed signal to Ægeus of their safety; upon which he threw himself from the rock in despair, and was dashed to pieces. Theseus disembarked, and performed those sacrifices to the gods, which he had vowed at Phalerum when he set sail; and sent a herald to the city, with an account of his safe return. The mes-

the great efforts of painting and sculpture among the Greeks were made in the century immediately before and after the æra of the Olympians (B. C. 776); and the more modern Dædalus, whose name frequently occurs in Pausanias, flourished within this interval.*

⁵³ Dicæarchus of Messenia, a scholar of Aristotle, composed (according to Suidas) many works, of which the one in highest estimation was his Account of Sparta. This was recited annually to the youth of that state, by order of the Ephori. He is much commended by Cicero (Tusc. i. 11. & 31.)*

⁵⁴ This, Callimachus informs us, was a circular dance; and probably called 'the Crane,' because Cranes commonly fly in the figure of a circle. Before the time of Theseus, Eustathius says, men and women always danced in separate parties, and this prince first united the two sexes in that amusement, upon rescuing his young companions from the Labyrinth. (Comm. II. xviii.) This dance, after a lapse of 3000 years, still exists in Greece, under the name of 'the Candiot.' (See an account of it in M. Guys, *Hist. Lit. de la Grèce*, Lett. xiii.; and a plate in Leroy, *Ruines des plus beaux Monumens de la Grèce*.)*

⁵⁵ From its sole material (*κερας*, 'a horn'). This ancient structure is ascribed to the workmanship of Apollo, and the horns are said to have been those of the roebucks of Cynthus, killed by his huntress-sister. (Call. Hymn. Apoll. 60.) It was built without glue, or mortar, or any other cement.*

senger met with numbers lamenting the fate of the king, and others rejoicing (as it was naturally to be expected) at the return of Theseus, welcoming him with the greatest kindness, and ready to crown him with flowers for his good news. He accepted the chaplets, and twined them round his herald's staff. Returning to the sea-shore, and finding that Theseus had not yet finished his libations, he stopped without, not choosing to disturb the sacrifice. When the libations were over, he announced the death of Ægeus. Upon this they hastened, with sorrow and tumultuous lamentations, to the city. Hence (they tell us) it is, that in the Oschophoria, or 'Feast of Boughs,' to this day the herald is not crowned, but his staff; and those that are present at the libations cry out, *Eleleu! Ioü, Ioü* ⁵⁶! The former is the exclamation of haste and triumph, and the latter of trouble and confusion*. Theseus, having buried his father, paid his vows to Apollo on the seventh of the month Pyanepsion; for on that day they arrived safe at Athens. The boiling of all sorts of pulse at that time is said to take its rise from their having mixed the remains of their provisions, when they found themselves safe ashore, boiled them in one pot, and feasted upon them all together. Hence also in that feast they carry a branch bound about with wool, such as they then made use of in their supplications, which they call Eiresione, laden with all sorts of fruits; and, to signify the ceasing of scarcity at that time, they sing this strain:

The golden ear, th' ambrosial hive,
In fair Eiresione thrive.
See, the juicy figs appear!
Olives crown the wealthy year!
See the cluster-bending vine!
See, and drink, and drop supine!

⁵⁶ *Eleleu* denotes the joy and precipitation, with which Theseus marched toward Athens; and *Ioü, ioü*, his sorrow for his father's death.

* Το μὲν ἀνευελζόντες ἀγαφώνεν καὶ περιανιζόντες εἰσθασι, το δὲ ἐκπληξέων,
κ. τ. λ. (Wakefield, *Silv. Crit.* iv. 134.)*

Some pretend, that this ceremony is retained in memory of the Heraclidæ⁵⁷, who were entertained in that manner by the Athenians; but it is generally related as above.

The vessel, in which Theseus sailed and returned safe with those young men, went with thirty oars. It was preserved by the Athenians to the times of Demetrius Phalereus⁵⁸; being so pieced and new-framed with strong planks (as they removed the old and unsound parts) that it afforded an example to the philosophers, in their disputations concerning the identity of things which are changed by growth⁵⁹; some contending that it was the same, and others that it was not.

⁵⁷ The descendents of Hercules, being driven out of Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece, applied to the Athenians for their protection, which was granted: and, as they were suppliants, they went with branches in their hands. This subject is treated by Euripides in his Heraclidæ.

⁵⁸ That is, nearly 1000 years. For Theseus returned from Crete about B. C. 1235; and Callimachus, who was contemporary with Demetrius, and who (Hymn. Del. i. 314.) tells us the Athenians continued to send this sacred and immortal ship to Delos in his time, flourished about B. C. 280. (L.)

This Demetrius, during the ten years in which he governed Athens, had 360 statues erected to his honour; all of which, after his disgrace, those ancient Iconoclasts destroyed in one day. And so it has ever been:

—*Descendunt statuae, restemque sequuntur.* Juv. x. 58.

It was a shrewd and pithy observation of pope Alexander VI. to his son, upon entering some Italian town after an unexpected reverse of fortune and remarking the subsequent change of arrangements:

Vides, mi fili, quam leve discrimen inter patibulum et statuam!

Demetrius died, B. C. 284.*

⁵⁹ The invention of this species of sophism Plutarch, in his Treatise upon the Tardiness of Divine Vengeance, imputes to Epicharmus, who flourished in the fifth century before Christ. Its object was, from the change of corporeal particles in the successive periods of youth and manhood and old age, to infer a change of personal identity: and the result of the argument (convenient enough to a philosopher) would have been, to exonerate a debtor from the necessity of repaying the sum borrowed. Our bishop Butler would have puzzled the old Sicilian with regard to

The feast called Oschophoria⁶⁰, which the Athenians still celebrate, was then first instituted by Theseus. For he did not take with him all the virgins, upon whom the lot had fallen, but selected two young men of his acquaintance who had feminine and florid aspects, and at the same time sufficient spirit and presence of mind. These by warm bathing, and keeping them out of the sun; by providing unguents for their hair and complexions, and every thing necessary for their dress; by forming their voice and manner and step, he so effectually altered, that they passed among the virgins designed for Crete, and no one could discern the difference.

Upon his return, he walked in procession with the same young men, dressed in the manner of those who now carry the branches. These are borne in honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, on account of the story before related; or rather, because they returned at the time of gathering ripe fruits. The Deipnophoræ [women, who carry the provisions] take a part in the solemnity, and have a share in the sacrifice, to represent the mothers of those upon whom the lots fell, bringing them provisions for

sentient subjects at least. See his Dissertation of Personal Identity. See also Locke, II. xxvii. 9. &c. This ship might have vied with that of Deptford, traditionally asserted (upon similar grounds) to be the identical one, in which sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe, and received from Queen Elizabeth upon his return the honour of knighthood—‘an honour,’ as Johnson observes, ‘in that illustrious reign not made cheap by prostitution.’ (xii. 145.)*

⁶⁰ This ceremony was performed in the following manner: They made choice of a certain number of youths of the most noble families in each tribe, whose respective fathers and mothers were both living. These bore vine-branches in their hands, with grapes upon them, and ran from the temple of Bacchus to that of Minerva Sciradia, which was near the Phalerean gate. He that arrived there first, drank off a cup of wine, mingled with honey, cheese, meal, and oil. They were followed by a chorus, conducted by two young men dressed in women’s apparel, singing a song in their praise. Certain women with baskets on their heads attended them, and were chosen for that office from among the most wealthy of the citizens. The whole procession was headed by a herald, bearing a staff encircled with boughs.

the voyage. Fables and tales are the chief discourse, because they then told their children stories, to comfort them and keep up their spirits. These particulars are taken from *Demon's History*. There was a place consecrated, and a temple erected to Theseus; and those families, which would have been liable to the tribute, if it had continued, were obliged to pay a tax to the temple for sacrifices. These were committed to the care of the *Phyralidæ*, upon whom Theseus conferred that honour in recompence of their hospitality.

After the death of *Ægeus*, he undertook and effected a prodigious work. He settled all the inhabitants of Attica in Athens, and made them one people in one city; whereas before they were scattered up and down, and could with difficulty be assembled upon any pressing occasion for the public good. Nay, frequently such differences had happened between them, as ended in bloodshed. The method, which he took, was to apply to them in particular by their tribes and families. Private persons and the poor easily listened to his summons. To the rich and great he represented the advantage of a government without a king, where the chief authority should reside in the people, while he himself desired only to command in war, and to be the guardian of the laws; and, in all the rest, every one should be upon an equal footing. Part of them hearkened to his persuasions; and others fearing his power, which was already very considerable, as well as his enterprising spirit, chose rather to be persuaded than compelled to submit. Dissolving therefore the corporations, the councils, and courts in each particular town, he built one common Prytaneum and court-hall, where it stands to this day. The citadel with it's dependencies, and the city, he united under the common name of Athens⁶¹, and instituted the

⁶¹ Which had before belonged exclusively to the old town. M. Ricard has observed from Meiziriac, for the benefit of his less classical readers, that Athens was often called by the generic name

Panathenæa as a common sacrifice⁶². He appointed also the Metœcia, or Feast of Migration⁶³, and fixed it on the sixteenth of Hecatombœon, upon which it still continues. Giving up the kingly power, as he had promised, he settled the commonwealth under the auspices of the gods; for he consulted the Oracle at Delphi concerning his new government, and received this answer:

From royal stems thy honour, Theseus, springs;
By Jove beloved, the sire supreme of kings.
See rising towns, see wide-extended states,
On thee dependent, ask their future fates!
Hence, hence with fear! Thy favoured bark shall ride
Safe o'er the surges of the foamy tide⁶⁴.

With this agrees the Sibyl's prophecy, which (we

As⁶⁵, 'the City' (as Rome was denominated *Urbs* among the Romans) by way of eminence. Cecrops, it's first sovereign, built the citadel upon an elevated site, and named it from himself *Cecropia*: but this appellation in after-times, when the enlarged buildings were denominated *Poleis*, they exchanged for the term *Acropolis*.*

⁶² The Athenæa were celebrated before, in honour of the goddess Minerva; but, as that was a feast peculiar to the city of Athens, Theseus enlarged it, and made it common to all the inhabitants of Attica, whence it was called *Panathenæa*. There were the greater, and the less Panathenæa. The less were kept annually on the twentieth of Thargelion, and the greater every fifth year on the twenty-third of Hecatombœon. In the latter they carried in procession the mysterious *peplum* or veil of Minerva, upon which were embroidered the victory of the gods over the giants, and the most remarkable achievements of their heroes.

⁶³ In memory of their quitting the boroughs, and uniting in one city. This is called by Thueydides (ii. 15.) *Synœcia*, but the purport is the same.

Upon this occasion he likewise instituted, or at least restored, the Isthmian games in honour of Neptune. These were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers; and, as a farther encouragement to them to settle in Athens, he bestowed upon them the privileges of natives.

⁶⁴ In the original it is, 'Safe, like a bladder, &c.' When Sylla had taken Athens, and exercised all kinds of cruelty there, some Athenians went to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, Whether the last hour of their city was come? and the priestess (according to Pausan. i. 20.) made answer, *τα εἰς τὸν ἀσπλιν ἐρχομαι*, 'That which belongs to the bladder,' now has an end; obviously referring to the old prophecy here delivered.

are told) she delivered long afterward, concerning Athens :

The bladder may be dipp'd, but never drown'd.

Desiring yet farther to enlarge the city, he invited all strangers to equal privileges in it; and the words still in use, "Come hither, all ye people," are said to be the beginning of a proclamation, which Theseus ordered to be made, when he composed a commonwealth as it were of all nations. He did not however leave it in the confusion and disorder, likely to ensue from the confluence and strange mixture of people, but distinguished them into noblemen, husbandmen, and mechanics. The nobility were to have the care of religion, to supply the city with magistrates, to explain the laws, and to interpret whatever related to the worship of the gods. As to the rest, he balanced the citizens against each other as nearly as possible; the nobles excelling in dignity, the husbandmen in usefulness, and the artificers in number. It appears from Aristotle, that Theseus was the first who inclined to a democracy, and gave up the regal power; and Homer also seems to testify the same in his Catalogue of Ships, where he gives the name of 'People' to the Athenians exclusively⁶⁵. To his money he gave the impression of an ox, either on account of the Marathonian bull, of Minos' general Taurus, or because he wished to encourage the citizens in agriculture⁶⁶. Hence came the expression

⁶⁵ In this passage (Il. ii. Κετταλ. 51.) the Athenians are called

'The people of the great Erechtheus,'

which would seem to convey a sense hostile to Plutarch's inference; but perhaps he considered the phrase as implying The people, who *once* had Erechtheus for their king.*

⁶⁶ Some think it was allusive to those animals, as the previous medium of commerce; and this would invert the inference of the next paragraph. But Athenian medals have exhibited the impress of a bull's head, and the conflict with the Minotaur, which seem to decide the question in favour of the Cretan story. It is obvious to trace, from one of these sources, the Roman term *pecunia*.*

of a thing's being worth ten or a hundred oxen. Having also made a secure acquisition of the country about Megara to the territory of Athens, he set up the celebrated pillar in the Isthmus⁶⁷, and inscribed it with two verses to distinguish the boundaries. That on the eastern side ran thus,

This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia;

and that on the western,

This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia.

He likewise instituted games, in imitation of Hercules; being ambitious that as the Greeks, in pursuance of that hero's appointment, celebrated the Olympic games⁶⁸ in honour of Jupiter, so they should celebrate the Isthmian⁶⁹ in honour of Neptune: for the rites performed there before, in memory of Melicertes, were observed in the night, and had more the air of Mysteries than of a public spectacle and assembly. Some authors however assert, that the Isthmian games were dedicated to Sciron, from Theseus' wish to expiate his untimely

⁶⁷ This pillar was erected by the common consent of the Ionians and Peloponnesians, to put an end to the disputes about their boundaries, and it continued till the reign of Codrus. It was then demolished by the Heraclidæ, who had made themselves masters of the territory of Megara, which thereby passed from the Ionians to the Dorians. Strabo. (L.) This inscription was subsequently imitated by Hadrian, upon the monument which he erected between the old and new city of Athens: on one side he wrote,

This is Athens, the old city of Theseus;

and on the other,

This is the city of Hadrian, not of Theseus.*

⁶⁸ These games must have been instituted long after the assigned date of Hercules, as Strabo proves that they were unknown in the time of Homer. Perhaps indeed they had sunk into neglect, and were only revived by Iphitus at the æra, which is usually assigned for their commencement.*

⁶⁹ So denominated from the Isthmus of Peloponnesus, upon which they took place.*

fate, on account of their being so nearly related; for Sciron was the son of Canethus and Henioche, the daughter of Pittheus. Others will have it, that Sinnis was their son; and that to him, and not to Sciron, these games were dedicated. He made an agreement also with the Corinthians, that they should yield the place of honour to the Athenians who came to the Isthmian games, as far as the ground could be covered with the sail of the public ship⁷⁰ which brought them, when it was stretched to it's full extent. This particular we learn from Hellanicus, and Andron of Halicarnassus.

Philochorus and some others relate, that he sailed in company with Hercules into the Euxine Sea, to wage war with the Amazons⁷¹, and that he received Antiope⁷² as the reward of his valour: but the greater number (among whom are Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodorus) tell us, that Theseus made the voyage with his own fleet alone, some time after Hercules, and took that Amazon captive: and this is the more probable account, as we do not

⁷⁰ This ship (in the original called *Θεσπία*) was properly that, which the Athenians, in conformity with Theseus' vow, sent annually to Delos crowned with the sacred olive, and freighted with sacrifices to Apollo. From the period of it's coronation till it's return the city underwent a purification, and all public executions were suspended. Hence (as the classical reader will recollect) an interval of thirty days occurred between the sentence of Socrates, and his martyrdom; and to this piece of superstition we owe the interesting account given by his disciples of the manner, in which that interval was spent.*

⁷¹ Nothing can be more fabulous, than the whole history of the Amazons. Strabo observes, that the most credible of Alexander's historians have not so much as mentioned them: and indeed, if they were a Scythian nation, how came they all to have Greek names? (L.)

Their entire story, as connected with Hercules, is resolved by M. Gebelin into an allegory upon the sun's track in the zodiac: nor is this opinion affected by Plutarch's suggestions on the allusive names of places about Athens; as these might have had a totally different origin, or might have been imposed by the inventive historians of the Amazonian war.*

⁷² Justin says, that Hercules gave Hippolyte to Theseus, and kept Antiope for himself.

read, that any other of his fellow-warriors made any Amazon prisoner. Bion however affirms, that he took and carried her off by a stratagem. The Amazons (he informs us) being naturally lovers of men, were so far from avoiding Theseus, when he touched upon their coasts, that they sent him presents. Theseus invited Antiope, who brought them into his ship; and, as soon as she was aboard, set sail. But the account of one Menecrates, who published a History of Nice in Bithynia, is that Theseus, having Antiope aboard his vessel, remained in those parts some time; and that he was attended in this expedition by three young men of Athens, who were brothers, Euneos, Thoas, and Soloön. The last of these, unknown to the rest, fell in love with Antiope, and communicated his passion to one of his companions, who applied to her about the affair. She firmly rejected his pretensions, but treated him with civility, and prudently concealed the matter from Theseus. But Soloön in despair having leaped into a river and drowned himself, Theseus then sensible of the cause and the young man's passion, lamented his fate, and in his sorrow recollected an order of the priestess, which he had formerly received at Delphi; that when, in some foreign country, he should be labouring under the greatest affliction, he should build a city there, and leave some of his followers to govern it. Hence he called the city which he built Pythopolis, after the Pythian god, and the neighbouring river, in honour of the young man, Solöon. He left the two surviving brothers to govern it, and give it laws; and along with them Hermus, who was of one of the best families in Athens. From him the inhabitants of Pythopolis call a certain place in their city Hermus' House, and by exchanging an accent⁷³, transfer the honour from the hero to the god (Mercury).

Hence the war with the Amazons took it's rise.

⁷³ The acute for the circumflex.*

And it appears to have been no slight or womanish enterprise; for they could not have encamped in the town, or joined battle on the ground about the Pnyx⁷⁴, and the Museum⁷⁵, or fallen in so intrepid a manner upon the city of Athens, unless they had first reduced the country about it. It is difficult, indeed, to believe (though the story is told by Hellenicus) that they crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus⁷⁶ upon the ice; but that they encamped almost in the heart of the city is confirmed by the names of places, and by the tombs of those that perished there.

There was a long pause and delay, before either army would begin the attack. At last Theseus, by the direction of some oracle, having offered a sacrifice to Fear⁷⁷, directed the onset. It was fought in the month Boëdromion, upon the day, on which the Athenians still celebrate the feast called Boëdromia. Clidemus, who is minutely particular, states that the left wing of the Amazons moved toward what is now called the Amazonium, and that the right extended as far as the Pnyx near Chrysa: that the Athenians first engaged with the left wing of the Amazons, falling upon them from the Museum; and that the tombs of the slain are in the street leading to the gate called Piraïca, which is by the monument erected in honour of Chalcodon, where the Athenians were routed by the Amazons, and

⁷⁴ The Pnyx was a place (near the citadel) where the people of Athens used to assemble, and where the orators addressed them upon public affairs (L.):—so called from the crowded buildings in that quarter; or, according to others, from the conflux of the public assemblies.*

⁷⁵ The Museum was upon a little hill over-against the citadel, and probably so called from a temple of the Muses there (L.): or rather from the poet Musæus, who recited his verses, and was afterward interred in it. (Pausan. i. 25.)*

⁷⁶ The channel between the Palus Mæotis, *hodie* the Sea of Asoph, and the Euxine or Black Sea.*

⁷⁷ The heathens considered not only the passions, but even distempers and tempests, as divinities; and worshipped them, that they might do them no harm. (L.) For Φοβός, which occurs in the text, H. Etienne has very justly substituted Φοβή. See the Life of Alexander, Vol. IV. not. (97.)*

fled as far as the temple of the Furies⁷⁸: but that the left wing of the Athenians, which charged from the Palladium, Ardetus⁷⁹, and the Lyceum, drove the right wing of the enemy to their camp, and slew many of them; and that after four months, a peace was concluded by means of Hippolyte (for so this author calls the Amazon, who lived with Theseus, not Antiope): others however inform us that this heroine fell fighting by Theseus' side, being pierced with a dart by Molpadia; and that a pillar, by the temple of the Olympian Earth⁸⁰, was set up over her grave. Nor is it to be regarded as matter of wonder that, in the account of things so very ancient, history should be thus uncertain; since we are told that some Amazons, wounded by Antiope, were privately sent to Chalcis to be cured, and that some were buried there at a place now called Amazonium. But that the war was ended by a league, we may assuredly gather from a place called Horcomosium, near the temple of Theseus, where it was ratified by oaths; as well as from an ancient sacrifice, which is offered to the Amazons the day before the feast of Theseus. The people of

⁷⁸ This temple indeed was not then in existence, having been built subsequently to the trial of Orestes (Pausan. vii. 25.); but the place, intended by Plutarch, is not therefore the less accurately defined.*

⁷⁹ The Palladium was a court for the trial of murderers.

Ardettus was so named from an Athenian hero, who had quelled the discords of his fellow-citizens, and induced them to bind themselves by an oath to mutual union. Of this oath (called 'the Heliatic') the formula is preserved by Demosthenes (in Timocr.) containing an adjuration of Apollo, Ceres, and Jupiter. Upon the situation of the place where it was administered, and the etymology of its name, different opinions are entertained.*

⁸⁰ By this is meant the moon, so called (as Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles, supposes) because, like the Genii or Demons, she is neither so perfect as the gods, nor so imperfect as man. But, as some of the philosophers (we mean the Pythagoreans) had astronomy enough afterward to conclude that the sun is the centre of this system, we presume it might occur to thinking men in the more early ages, that the moon was an opaque, and therefore probably a terrene body. She was sometimes, likewise, called the Terrestrial Star.

Megara likewise show a place, in the figure of a lozenge, where some Amazons were buried, as you go from the market-place to Rhus. Others also are said to have died by Chæroneæ, and to have been buried by the rivulet, which it seems was formerly called Thermodon, but now Hæmon; of which I have given a farther account in the Life of Demosthenes. It appears too that the Amazons traversed Thessaly, not without opposition; for their sepulchres are shown to this day, between Scotussæa and Cynoscephalæ.

This is all, that is memorable in the story of the Amazons: for as to what the author of the *Theseid* relates, of the Amazons rising to take vengeance for Antiope, when Theseus quitted her and married Phædra, and of their being slain by Hercules, it has plainly the air of fable. He married Phædra indeed after the death of Antiope, having had by the Amazon a son named Hippolytus, or (according to Pindar⁸¹) Demophoon. As to the calamities which befel Phædra and Hippolytus, since the historians do not differ from what the writers of tragedy have said of them, we may consider them as matters of fact. Some other marriages of Theseus are spoken of (but have not been represented upon the stage) which had neither an honourable beginning, nor a happy

⁸¹ In this, Pindar has fallen into a mistake, as Demophon was one of his sons by Phædra: the other was Acamas.* Theseus, upon his marriage with Phædra, sent Hippolytus to be brought up by his own mother Æthra, queen of Træzene: but, he coming afterward to some Athenian games, Phædra fell in love with him; and, having solicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment accused him to Theseus of having made an attempt upon her chastity. The fable adds, that Theseus prayed to Neptune to punish him by some violent death; and, all solemn execrations (according to the notions of the heathens) necessarily taking effect, as Hippolytus was riding along the sea-shore, Neptune sent two sea-calves, which frightened the horses, overturned the chariot, and tore him to pieces. The poets subjoin, that the lustful queen hanged herself for grief; and that Diana being taken with Hippolytus' chastity, and pitying the sad fate which it had brought upon him, prevailed upon Æsculapius to restore him to life, to be a companion of her diversions.

conclusion. For he is said to have forcibly carried off Anaxo of Trœzene; and, having slain Sinnis and Cercyon, to have committed rapes upon their daughters: to have married Peribœa likewise the mother of Ajax, and Pherebœa, and lope the daughter of Iphicles. Besides, they charge him with attaching himself to Ægle, the daughter of Panopeus (as above related) and for her sake deserting Ariadne, contrary to the rules both of justice and honour; but above all with the rape of Helen, which involved Attica in war, and ended in his banishment and death, of which we shall speak more at large by and by.

Though there were many expeditions undertaken by the heroes of those times, Herodorus thinks that Theseus was not concerned in any of them, except in assisting the Lapithæ against the Centaurs. Others write, that he attended Jason to Colchos, and Meleager in killing the boar; and that thence came the proverb, "Nothing without Theseus." It is allowed however that Theseus, without any assistance, did himself perform many great exploits; and that these extraordinary instances of his valour gave occasion to the saying, "This man is another Hercules." He assisted Adrastus likewise, in recovering the bodies of those who fell before Thebes; not by defeating the Thebans in battle, as Euripides has it in his tragedy⁸², but by persuading them to a truce, for so most writers agree; and Philochorus is of opinion, that this was the first truce for burying the dead ever negotiated. But Hercules was, indeed, the first, as we have shown in his Life, who gave up to the enemy their dead. The burying-place of the common soldiers is to be seen at Eleu-

⁸² This however Isocrates likewise affirms, in his Panegyric upon Helen; though in his Panath. he observes, that Theseus sent ambassadors to Eteocles: but the apparent contradiction is reconciled by his contemporary Lysias, who relates that Theseus, after an ineffectual attempt at negotiation, had more successful recourse to arms.*

theræ⁸³, and of the officers at Eleusis; in which particular Theseus gratified Adrastus. Æschylus, in whose tragedy of the Eleusinians Theseus is introduced relating the matter as above, contradicts what Euripides has delivered in his *Suppliants*.

The friendship between Theseus and Pirithöus is said to have commenced thus: Theseus being much celebrated for his strength and valour, Pirithöus was desirous to prove it, and therefore drove away his oxen from Marathon: and, when he heard that Theseus pursued him in arms, instead of flying he turned back to meet him. But, as soon as they met, each was so struck with admiration of the other's person and courage, that they laid aside all thoughts of fighting; and Pirithöus, first giving Theseus his hand, bade him be judge in this cause himself, and he would willingly abide by his sentence. Theseus, in his turn, left the cause to him, and desired him to be his friend and fellow-warrior. They then confirmed their friendship with an oath. Pirithöus subsequently marrying Deïdamia⁸⁴ entreated Theseus to visit his country, and to become acquainted with the Lapithæ⁸⁵. He had also invited the Centaurs to the entertainment. These in their cups behaving with insolence and indecency, and not even refraining from the women, the Lapithæ rose up in their defence, killed some of them upon the spot, and soon afterward beating them in a set battle, with the assistance of Theseus drove them out of the country. Herodorus gives a different account of the matter. He says that, hostilities being already begun, Theseus came in aid to the Lapithæ, and then had the first sight of Hercules; having made it his

⁸³ A city of Attica on the confines of Bœotia. (Pausan. i. 33.)*

⁸⁴ All other writers call her Hippodamia, except Propertius, who calls her Ischomache. (II. ii. 9.) She was the daughter of Adrastus.

⁸⁵ Homer calls the Lapithæ, 'heroes.' The Centaurs are feigned to have been half-men half-horses, either from their brutality, or because (if not the inventors of horsemanship) they generally appeared on horseback.

business to find him out at Trachin⁸⁶, where he reposed himself after all his wanderings and labours: and that this interview passed in marks of great respect, civility, and mutual compliments. We rather however prefer those historians, who assure us, that they had very frequent interviews; and that by means of Theseus Hercules was initiated into the Mysteries of Ceres⁸⁷, having first obtained lustration, as he desired, on account of several involuntary pollutions.

Theseus was now fifty years old, according to Helianicus, when he was concerned in the rape of Helen, who had not yet arrived at her maturity. Some writers, thinking this one of the heaviest charges against him, endeavour to correct it by saying, that it was not Theseus that carried off Helen, but Idas and Lynceus who committed her to his care; and that therefore he refused to give her up, when demanded by Castor and Pollux: or rather that she was delivered to him by Tyndarus himself, to keep her from Enarsphorus, the son of Hippocöon, who endeavoured to possess himself by violence of her, though then but a child. But what authors generally agree in, as most probable, is as follows: the two friends went together to Sparta, and having seen the girl dancing in the temple of Diana Orthia⁸⁸,

⁸⁶ A small place, near Mount Ceta.*

⁸⁷ Prior to initiation in the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis, a public lustration in the Less (celebrated at Agra, near the Ilissus) was indispensably necessary. After preparing himself by fasting and continence, the claimant was made to kneel upon the extended skin of a pregnant sow, which had been previously sacrificed to Jupiter; washed with sea-water, in which had been mingled salt, laurel, and barley; then passed through the fire, and finally crowned with flowers. A subsequent year of noviciate was employed in studying the ceremonies of this new Revelation, to all of which (except a few esoteric ones, reserved for the priesthood) he was fully admitted. He afterward wore the dress, in which he had been initiated, till it dropped in pieces; it was then consecrated to Ceres or Proserpine, or preserved for the use of children. (See Meursius on these particular Mysteries, &c.)*

⁸⁸ Upon the altar of this temple the Spartans used to whip their children with the utmost severity, to teach them fortitude. Helen,

carried her off and fled. Their pursuers following no farther than Tegea, they thought themselves secure; and, having traversed Peloponnesus, entered into an agreement, that he who should gain Helen by lot should have her to wife, on condition of assisting to procure a wife for the other. In consequence of these terms, the lots being cast, she fell to Theseus; who received the virgin, and conveyed her, as she was not yet marriageable, to Aphidnæ⁸⁹. Here he placed his mother with her, and committed them to the care of his friend Aphidnus, charging him to keep them in the utmost secrecy and safety; while, to pay his debt of service to Pirithöus, he himself travelled with him into Epirus, with a view to the daughter of Aïdoneus, king of the Molossi. This prince named his wife Proserpine⁹⁰, his daughter Coré, and his dog Cerberus: with this dog he commanded all his daughter's suitors to fight, promising her to him that should overcome him. But understanding that Pirithöus came not with an intention to court his daughter, but to carry her off by force⁹¹, he seized both him and his friend, destroyed Pirithöus immediately by means of his dog, and shut up Theseus in prison.

In the mean while Menestheus, the son of Peteus, grandson of Orneus, and great-grandson of Erechtheus, appeared; the first (it is said) that undertook to be a demagogue, and by his eloquence to ingra-

the reputed daughter of Jupiter by Leda the wife of Tyndarus, when thus carried off by Theseus and Pirithöus, was at the utmost under ten years of age.*

⁸⁹ A city near Athens.*

⁹⁰ Proserpine and Coré was the same person, daughter to Aïdoneus, whose wife was named Ceres. Plutarch himself tells us so in his *Morals*, where he adds that by Proserpine is meant the Moon, whom Pluto, or the God of Darkness, sometimes carries off. Coré, indeed, signifies nothing more than 'young woman' or 'daughter;' and they might say 'a daughter of Epirus,' as we say 'a daughter of France,' or 'of Spain.'

⁹¹ Plato however (*Repub.* iii.) wishing to screen these 'sons of the gods' from such discreditable imputations, rejects this tradition.*

tiate himself with the people. He endeavoured also to exasperate and seduce the nobility, who had but ill borne with Theseus for some time from the reflexion that he had deprived every person of family of his separate government and command, and shut them up together in one city, where he used them as his subjects and slaves. Among the common people he sowed disturbance by telling them that, though they pleased themselves with the dream of liberty, in fact they were robbed of their country and religion; and, instead of many good and native kings, were lorded over by one man, a new-comer and a stranger. While he was thus busily employed, the war declared by the Tyndaridæ greatly helped forward the sedition. Some plainly affirm, that they were invited by Menestheus to invade the country. At first they forbore proceeding to hostilities, and only demanded their sister: but the Athenians answering, that they neither had her among them nor knew where she was, they began their warlike operations. Academus however, finding it out by some means or other, told them she was concealed at Aphidnæ. Hence not only the Tyndaridæ treated him honourably during his life, but the Lacedæmonians, who in after-times often made inroads into Attica, and laid waste all the country besides, spared the Academy for his sake. But Dicæarchus asserts that Echedemus and Marathus, two Arcadians, being allies to the Tyndaridæ in that war, the place which is now denominated the Academy, was from one of them first called Echedemy; and that from the other the district of Marathon had it's name, because he freely offered himself, in pursuance of some oracle, to be sacrificed at the head of the army. To Aphidnæ then they came, where they beat the enemy in a set battle, and afterward took the city, and rased it to the ground. There (they tell us) Alyceus, the son of Sciron, was slain fighting for Castor and Pollux; and that a certain place, within the territories of Megara, is called Alyceus from his having

been buried there : and Hereas writes, that Alycus received his death from 'Theseus' own hand. These verses also are cited, as a proof in point :

For bright-hair'd Helen he was slain
By Theseus, on Aphidnæ's plain.

But it is not probable that Aphidnæ would have been taken, and his mother made prisoner, had Theseus been present.

Aphidnæ, however, was taken, and Athens itself in danger. Menestheus seized this opportunity of persuading the people to receive the Tyndaridæ into the city, and to treat them with hospitality ; since they only levied war against Theseus, who was the aggressor, and were benefactors and deliverers to the rest of the Athenians. Their behaviour confirmed what he stated ; for, though conquerors, they desired only to be admitted to the Mysteries, to which they had no less claim than Hercules⁹², since they were equally allied to the city. This request was easily granted them, and they were adopted by Aphidnus, as Hercules was by Pylus⁹³. They had also divine honours paid them, with the title of Anakes, which was given them, either on account of the truce [*anekhe*] which they made, or because of their great care that no one should be injured, though there were so many troops in the city (for the phrase *anakós echein* signifies to keep, or take care of any thing ; and for this reason, perhaps, kings are called Anaktes) : some again say, they were called Anakes, because of the appearance of their stars ; for the Athenians use the words *anekas* and *anekathen* instead of *anó* and *anóthen*, that is, ' above ' or ' on high '⁹⁴.

⁹² For Castor and Pollux, like him, were sons of Jupiter, from whom the Athenians too pretended to derive their origin. It was necessary, however, that they should be naturalised before they were admitted to the Mysteries ; and, accordingly, they were naturalised by adoption.

⁹³ King of Thespiæ in Bæotia.*

⁹⁴ Of these M. Ricard prefers the second, as best confirmed by the name given to kings.*

We are told that Æthra (the mother of Theseus) who was now a prisoner, was carried to Lacedæmon, and thence with Helen to Troy; and that Homer confirms it when, speaking of those that waited upon Helen, he mentions

—————The beauteous Clymene,
And Æthra born of Pittheus.

Others reject this verse, as not Homer's⁹⁵; as they do also the story of Munychus, who is said to have been the fruit of a secret commerce between Demophöon and Laodice, and brought up by Æthra at Troy. But Ister, in the thirteenth book of his history of Attica, gives an account of Æthra different from all the rest. He was informed (it seems) that after the battle, in which Alexander or Paris was routed by Achilles and Patroclus in Thessaly near the river Sperchius, Hector took and plundered the city of Trœzene, and carried off Æthra, who had been left there. This, however, is highly improbable.

It happened that Hercules, in passing through the country of the Molossi, was entertained by Aïdoneus the king; who accidentally mentioned to him the bold attempts of Theseus and Pirithöus, and the manner in which he had punished them when discovered. Hercules was much disturbed to hear of the inglorious death of the one, and the danger of the other. As to Pirithöus, however, he thought it vain to make any expostulations; but he begged to have Theseus released, and Aïdoneus granted his request. Theseus, thus set at liberty, returned to Athens, where his party was not yet

⁹⁵ It appears indeed scarcely probable, that Helen should have as a waiting-maid one, who was her mother-in-law and had been a queen: and yet this story of Æthra's captivity seems not a little corroborated by a picture, which existed at Delphi, where she was to be seen shaven as a slave, and her grandson Demophon was represented as meditating the means of her deliverance. (Pausan. x. 25.)*

entirely suppressed: and whatever temples and groves the city had assigned to him, he consecrated them all, except four, to Hercules, and called them (as Philochorus relates) instead of Thesea, Hera-clea⁹⁶. But desiring to preside in the common-wealth, and direct it as before, he found himself encompassed with turbulence and sedition: for those, who were his enemies before his departure, had now added to their hatred a contempt of his authority; and he beheld the people so generally corrupted that, instead of silently executing his commands, they wished to be flattered into their duty. Upon attempting to reduce them by force, he was overpowered by the prevalence of faction. Finding his affairs therefore desperate, he privately sent his children into Eubœa to Elephenor, the son of Chalcodon; and after uttering solemn execrations against the Athenians at Gargettus, where there is still a place thence called Araterion, he himself sailed to Scyros⁹⁷. There he imagined he should find hospitable treatment, as he had a paternal estate in that island. Lycomedes was then king of the Scyrians. To him therefore he applied, and desired to be put in possession of his lands, as intending to settle there. Some say, he asked assistance of him against the Athenians. But Lycomedes, either jealous of the glory of Theseus, or willing to oblige Menestheus⁹⁸, having led him to the highest cliffs of the country on pretence of thence showing him his lands, threw him down headlong from the rocks, and killed him. Others say he fell of himself, missing his step, as he took a walk according to his custom after supper. At

⁹⁶ This consecration Theseus is represented by Euripides, in his *Hercules Raving*, as promising to his deliverer.*

⁹⁷ This island is opposite to Eubœa. The ungrateful Athenians were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that to appease his ghost, they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honours to his memory.

⁹⁸ Or, as others state, having detected him in his endeavours to corrupt the loyalty of his subjects, and the chastity of his wife.*

that time his death was disregarded, and Menestheus quietly possessed the kingdom of Athens; while the sons of Theseus attended Elephenor, as private persons, to the Trojan war. But, Menestheus dying in the same expedition, they returned and recovered the kingdom. In succeeding ages, the Athenians honoured Theseus as a demi-god; induced to it as well by other reasons, as because, when they were fighting the Medes at Marathon, a considerable part of the army thought they saw the apparition of Theseus completely armed, and bearing down before them upon the barbarians.

After the Median war, when Phædon was archon⁹⁹, The Athenians consulting the oracle of Apollo, were ordered by the priestess to take up the bones of Theseus, and lay them in an honourable place at Athens, where they were to be preserved with the greatest care¹⁰⁰. But it was difficult to take them

⁹⁹ Codrus, the seventeenth king of Athens, contemporary with Saul, devoted himself to death for the sake of his country, in the contest with the Dorians and Heraclidæ, B. C. 1070; having learned, that the oracle had promised victory to those, whose chief should fall in battle. His subjects, upon this account, conceived such veneration for him, that they esteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him: and therefore committed the management of the state to elective magistrates, to whom they gave the title of 'Archons;' choosing Medon, the eldest son of Codrus, to this new dignity. These were at first for life, and of this description there were thirteen, who governed for the space of 316 years. After the death of Alcmaeon, the last of them, the office was made decennial, still however continuing in the same family, till the death of Eryxias (or, according to others, of Thesias) the seventh of this second class of supreme magistrates. In him the family of Codrus (the Medontidæ) ending, the Athenians created annual Archons, and instead of one appointed nine every year. Of these state-officers see a farther account, in the Notes on the Life of Solon.

¹⁰⁰ How nearly superstition and infidelity are allied! Who does not recollect, in a more modern instance, the solecistic mummary of bones transferred by atheists to a Pantheon; and that divinity conferred by apotheosis upon mortals, which was denied to God! To this passage Dr. Middleton refers, in his 'Letter from Rome,' to 'show the exact conformity between Popery and Paganism,' from the 'superstitious veneration and solemn translations of reliques, which make so great a part of the Popish worship, and

up, or even to discover the grave, on account of the savage and inhospitable disposition of the barbarians who dwelt in Scyros¹⁰¹. Nevertheless, Cimon having taken the island (as is related in his Life) and being very desirous to find out the place where Theseus was buried, by chance saw an eagle on a certain eminence breaking the ground, we are told, and scratching it up with his talons. This he considered as divine direction; and digging there, found the coffin of a man of extraordinary size, with a lance of brass and a sword lying by it. When these remains were brought to Athens in Cimon's galley, the Athenians received them with splendid processions and sacrifices; and were as much transported, as if Theseus himself had returned to the city. He lies interred in the middle of the town, near the Gymnasium: and this is a place of refuge for servants and all persons of mean condition, who fly from men in power¹⁰²; as Theseus, while he lived, was a humane and benevolent patron, who graciously received the petitions of the indigent. The chief sacrifice is offered to him on the eighth of Pyanepsion, the day upon which he returned with the young men from Crete. They sacrifice to him likewise on each eighth day of the other months; either because he first arrived from Trœzene on the eighth of Hecatombœon (as Diodorus the geographer relates), or else thinking this number above all others most proper, because he was said to be the son of Neptune, whose solemn feasts are observed on the eighth day of every month. For the number eight, as the first cube of an even number, and

which (as here also) are usually grounded on some pretended vision or revelation from heaven.' (Prefatory Discourse, p. lxii. 8vo.)*

¹⁰¹ This account of the Scyrians can hardly be admitted by those, who recollect that Achilles had been sent, seven centuries before the age of Cimon, to the court of Lycomedes; and that Scyros, from it's proximity to Eubœa, must necessarily have had some intercourse with Greece.*

¹⁰² Could he have had a nobler monument?*

the double of the first square¹⁰³, properly represents the firmness and immoveable power of this god, who thence has the names of Asphalius and Gaieochus.

¹⁰³ This doctrine of numbers, derived through Pythagoras from the Egyptians, was a great favourite with Plutarch.*

THE
LIFE
OF
ROMULUS¹.

SUMMARY.

Different opinions about the origin of Rome ; and of the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus. Most probable account of their birth. They are suckled by a wolf. Their first employments ; and quarrel with Numitor's herdsmen. Remus addresses that prince with great intrepidity. Faustulus arrested by Amulius' guards. Amulius slain by Romulus and Remus. Foundation of Rome. Dispute between the brothers. Remus slain by Romulus. Ceremonies observed in marking out the walls of the city. Epoch of it's foundation. Distribution of the people ; establishment of the senate. Right of patronage. Rape of the Sabines. Origin of the Talassio. Embassy of the Sabines. Romulus' victory over the Cœninenses. Origin of the Triumph. Conquests of Romulus ; war of the Sabines. Battle in Rome between the Romans and Sabines. Romulus, pressed by the enemy, invokes Jupiter Stator. The Sabine women declare in favour of the Romans. The two nations unite. Form of public deliberations. Festivals of the Romans. Vestals, and the Sacred Fire. Laws of Romulus. Death of Tatius. Fidenæ taken. The Camerini defeated. War with Veii. Romulus abuses his power. The patrieians discontented. He suddenly disappears. Conjectures about his death. The people restrained from insurrection by Proculus. Some Grecian fables, like those circulated about Romulus. Reflections upon the nature of the soul. Different interpretations of the name ' Quirinus.' The Caprotine Nones.

FROM whom, and for what cause, the city of Rome obtained that name, of which the glory has diffused itself over the world, historians are not agreed². Some say that the Pelasgi³, after they had over-run great part of the globe, and conquered many nations, settled there; and gave their city the name of Rome⁴, on account of their strength in war. Others inform us that, when Troy was taken, some of the Trojans having escaped and gained their ships put to sea, and being driven by the winds upon the coasts of Tuscany came to an anchor in the river Tiber: that here, their wives being much fatigued and no longer able to bear the hardships of the sea, one of them superior to the rest in birth and prudence, named Roma, proposed that they should burn the fleet: that, this having been effected,

¹ Upon this subject, to adopt the most generally-received date, we must place the foundation of Rome at B. C. 753. Ol. vi. 4.; and the death of Romulus B. C. 716. A. U. C. 38. But, though these events are universally allowed to have happened at a period not long prior to the christian æra, they are involved in much uncertainty. Some represent them as astronomical allegories; others confine the obscurity of the history of Rome to the reigns of it's seven kings, which include a space of 244 years; while a third class admit of little as well authenticated, which is referred to any of the five first centuries from it's foundation. The writers of Greece, indeed (at that time almost the only writers, and they too chiefly poets or fabulist historians) cared little for what was passing in Italy; and Numa left nothing behind him, except what had reference to religion or philosophy. The annalists of Rome began to make their appearance only about the time of the first Punic war.*

² Such is the uncertainty of the origin of Imperial Rome, and indeed of most cities and nations, that are of any considerable antiquity. That of Rome might be the more uncertain, because it's first inhabitants, being a collection of fugitives and outlaws from other nations, could not be supposed to leave histories behind them. Livy however, and most of the Latin historians, agree that Rome was built by Romulus, and both the city and the people named after him; while the vanity of the Greek writers seeks to refer almost every thing, and Rome among the rest, to a Grecian original.

³ These, originally from Arcadia, were the oldest inhabitants of Greece; whence they were driven into Thessaly, and thence into Epirus, Macedon, Italy, Crete, and Asia.*

⁴ *Ρωμα* signifies 'strength.' See also Festus, voc. *Roma*

the men were at first much exasperated; but afterward through necessity fixed their seat on the Palatine hill, and in a short time found things succeed beyond their expectation, for the country was good⁵ and the people hospitable: that therefore, beside other honours paid to Roma, they called their city (as she was the cause of it's being built) after her name. Hence too, we are informed, the custom arose for the women to salute their relations and husbands with a kiss; because those women, when they had burned the ships, used such kind of endearments to appease their husbands' resentment.

Among the various accounts of historians, it is said that Roma was the daughter of Italus and Leucaria; or of Telephus the son of Hercules, and married to Æneas; or of Ascanius the son of Æneas, and that she gave name to the city; or that Romanus, the son of Ulysses and Circe, built it; or Romus, the son of Æmathion, whom Diomedes sent from Troy; or Romus king of the Latins, after he had expelled the 'Tuscans'⁶, who passed originally from Thessaly into Lydia, and thence into Italy. Even they who, with the greatest probability, declare that the city had its name from Romulus, are far from agreeing about his extraction: for some state that he was the son of Æneas and Dexithea, the daughter of Phorbus, and was brought an infant into Italy with his brother Remus; that all the other vessels were lost by the violence of the flood, except that containing the children, which driving gently ashore where the bank was level, they were saved beyond expectation, and the

⁵ Whatever desirable things Nature has scattered frugally in other countries, were formerly found in Italy, as in their original seminary. But there has been so little encouragement given to the cultivation of the soil, since it became subject to the pontiffs, that it is now comparatively barren.

⁶ That these Tuscans however were not the same as the Pelasgi, nor even a colony from Lydia, is inferred by Dion. Halic., with great probability, from the difference of their language, customs, religion, and laws.*

place from them called Rome. Some will have it that Roma, daughter of the Trojan woman who was married to Latinus, the son of Telemachus, was the mother of Romulus. Others say that Æmilia, the daughter of Æneas and Lavinia, had him by Mars: and others again give an account of his birth, which is entirely fabulous. There appeared, it seems, to Tarchetius king of the Albans, who was the worst and most barbarous of men, a supernatural vision in his own house, the figure of Priapus rising out of the chimney-hearth, and staying there many days. The goddess Tethys had an oracle in Tuscany⁷, which being consulted upon the occasion, gave this answer to Tarchetius; That it was necessary some virgin should admit the embraces of the phantom, from which would spring a son eminent for valour, good fortune, and strength of body. Upon this Tarchetius acquainted one of his daughters with the prediction, and ordered her to entertain the apparition; but she, declining it, sent her maid. When Tarchetius knew this, he was highly offended, and confined them both, intending to put them to death. Vesta however appeared to him in a dream, and forbade his killing them; directing, that the young women should weave a certain web in their fetters, and when that was finished should be given in marriage. They wove therefore, in the day-time; while others, by Tarchetius' order, unravelled it in the night. The woman having twins by this commerce, Tarchetius delivered them to one Teratius, with an injunction to destroy them. But, instead of that, he exposed them by a river-side; where a she-wolf came and gave them suck, and various kinds of birds brought food for their support; till at last a herdsman, who beheld it with surprise, ventured to approach and take them up. Thus secured from

⁷ There was no oracle of Tethys, but of Themis there was. Themis was the same with Carmenta, the mother of Evander, which last name she had, because she delivered her oracles *in carmine*, 'in verses.'

danger, they grew up, attacked Tarchetius, and overcame him. This is the account, which Promathion gives in his History of Italy.

But the principal parts of that account, which deserves the most credit, and has the greatest number of vouchers, were first published among the Greeks by Diocles the Peparethian, whom Fabius Pictor⁸ commonly follows; and though there are different relations of the matter, the story may be despatched in a few words, as follows: The kings of Alba⁹ descending lineally from Æneas, the succession fell to two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. The latter divided¹⁰ the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures brought from Troy against the kingdom, and Numitor made choice of the latter. Amulius then having the treasures, and consequently being more powerful than Numitor, easily possessed himself of the kingdom too; and fearing Numitor's daughter might have children, appointed her priestess of Vesta, in which capacity she was always to live unmarried and a virgin. Some say her name was Ilia, some Rhea, and others Sylvia. This lady, contrary to the law of the

⁸ Peparethus was one of the Cyclades, eminent for it's wine. Who Diocles was, is unknown; but Fabius Pictor, called by Livy 'the oldest Roman writer,' was one of the deputies sent to Delphi after the fatal battle of Cannæ, to inquire into the means of conciliating the offended gods. He is charged, by Polybius, with having treated the Carthaginians unjustly in his Annals. (Voss. de Hist. Lat. i. 3.)*

⁹ From Æneas, down to Numitor and Amulius, there were thirteen kings of the same race; but we scarcely know any thing of them, except their names and the years of their respective reigns. Amulius the last of them, who surpassed his brother in courage and understanding, drove him from the throne; and, in order to secure it for himself, murdered Algestus, Numitor's only son, and consecrated his daughter Rhea Sylvia to the worship of Vesta.

¹⁰ Of this division Dion. Halic. (i. 17.) makes no mention, but only says that Amulius by force seized the throne to the exclusion of his elder brother, whose claim was incontestable: and his statement is apparently proved by a passage in Livy (i. 6.), who remarks that, as Romulus and Remus were twins, there was no method of determining which of them, in right of seniority, should rule the other.*

Vestals, was soon discovered to be with child. But Antho, the king's daughter, by much entreaty, prevailed upon her father, that she should not be capitally punished. She was confined however, and excluded from society, lest she should be delivered without Amulius' knowledge. On the completion of her time, she was delivered of two sons of uncommon size and beauty; upon which Amulius, still more alarmed, directed one of his servants to destroy them. Some say, the name of the servant was Faustulus; others, that this was the name of the person who took them up. Pursuant to his orders, he put the children into a small trough or cradle, and went down toward the river with a design to cast them in; but seeing it very rough, and running with a strong current, he was afraid to approach it. He therefore laid them down near the bank, and departed. The flood increasing continually set the trough afloat, and carried it gently down to a pleasant place now called Cermanum, but formerly (as it should seem) Germanum, because they call brothers *Germani*.

Near this place was a wild fig-tree, which they called Ruminalis, either on account of Romulus (as is generally supposed) or because the cattle there ruminated, or chewed the cud, during the noon-tide in the shade: or, rather, because of the suckling of the children there; for the ancient Latins called the breast *ruma*, and the goddess who presides over the nursery Rumilia¹¹, whose rites they celebrated without wine¹², and only with libations of milk. The infants, as the story goes, lying there were suckled by a she-wolf, and fed and taken care of by a wood-pecker. These animals are sacred

¹¹ The Romans called that goddess not Rumilia, but Rumina. (L.)

Heyne, in his Excurs. IV. on Virg. Æn. vii., rejects this derivation, and the fable of the wolf as grafted upon it; and thinks it much more probable that the city had its name from Rumon, the old appellation of the Tiber. (Serv. ad Æn. viii. 90, &c.)*

¹² As pernicious to that period of life.*

to Mars; and the wood-pecker is held in great honour and veneration by the Latins. Such wonderful events contributed not a little to gain credit to the mother's report, that she had the children by Mars; though in this they inform us she was herself deceived, having suffered violence from Amulius, who came to her and lay with her in armour. Some say, the ambiguity of the nurse's name gave occasion to the fable: for the Latins call not only she-wolves, but prostitutes, *lupæ*; and such was Acca Larentia, the wife of the children's foster-father Faustulus. To her also the Romans offer sacrifice, and the priest of Mars honours her with libations in the month of April, when they celebrate her feast Larentalia.

They worship also another Larentia¹³, on the following account: The keeper of the temple of Hercules, having it seems little else to do, proposed to play a game at dice with the god, upon condition that, if he won, he should receive something valuable from that deity; but, if he lost, he should provide a noble entertainment for him, and a beautiful woman to sleep with him. Then throwing the dice, first for the god and next for himself, it appeared that he had lost. Willing therefore to fulfil his bargain, and to perform the stipulated conditions, he prepared a supper; and engaging for the purpose one Larentia, who was very handsome but

¹³ This lady, M. Ricard remarks, should be called Acca Tarantia, from the name of her keeper. She is supposed to be the same with Flora, who bequeathed her infamous wealth to the Roman people, and was honoured in return with the institution of the licentious Flural games. (See Verr. de L. L. v. 3., Macrob. Saturn. i. 10., and Ovid. Fast. iv. 947. v. 531.)

All this however the acute and classical Gifford, in a long note upon Juv. vi. 219., pronounces 'an idle story;' affirms that 'the flowers of Italy had a presiding power, ages before Rome or her senate was heard of;' and states the perplexities of some of the Roman writers upon this subject, as well as the date of the first legal sanction extended to the Floralia, and his own opinion of their remote and barbarous origin, with the time and manner of their celebration, &c.

as yet little known, treated her in the temple, where he had provided a bed, and after supper left her for the enjoyment of the god. Accordingly the deity (it is said) had intercourse with her, and ordered her to go early in the morning to the market-place, salute the first man whom she should meet, and make him her friend. The first that met her was one far advanced in years, and in opulent circumstances, Tarrutius by name, who had no children and had never been married. This man took Larentia to his bed, and loved her so well, that at his death he left her heir to his whole estate, which was very considerable; and she afterward bequeathed the greatest part of it by will to the people. It is added, that at the time when she was in high reputation, and considered as the favourite of a god, she suddenly disappeared about the place where the former Larentia was laid. It is now called Velabrum, because the river often overflowing, they passed it at this place in ferry-boats, to go to the Forum. This kind of passage they called *velatura*¹⁴. Others derive the name from *velum* ('a sail') because they, who have the exhibiting of the public shows, beginning at Velabrum, overshadow all the way that leads from the Forum to the Hippodrome with

¹⁴ This etymology is confirmed by Varro de L. L. iv. 7., who derives *velabrum* (as contracted from *vehelabrum*) from *veho*.

The subsequent conjecture, which would deduce its origin from *velum* (as M. Dacier rightly observes) must be wrong; because the custom alluded to of stretching canvas at the public shows commenced, long after the date of the name Velabrum, at the time when Q. Catulus dedicated the Capitol. (Plin. H. N. xix. 1.)

M. Ricard gives a long note in this place, upon the fanciful theory of M. le Comte de Gebelin, who resolving the whole story of Romulus and Remus into an allegory, from considerations (whimsically ingenious) of date, derivation, &c. identified them respectively with the summer and winter sun. Hercules is likewise by a strong effort brought in, 'head and shoulders,' as a parallel to Romulus: but the reader will not be sorry to escape the perusal of Egyptian or Phœnician calendars and etymologies. The number of the Dii Majores, twelve, was indeed temptingly critical for one disposed to allegorise about months, &c.*

canvas. Upon these accounts, is the second Larentia so much honoured among the Romans.

In the mean time Faustulus, Amulius' herdsman, brought up the children entirely undiscovered; or rather, as others with more probability assert, Numitor knew it from the first¹⁵, and privately supplied the necessaries for their maintenance. It is also said that they were sent to Gabii¹⁶, and there instructed in letters, and other branches of education suitable to their birth: and history informs us, that they had the names of Romulus and Remus, from the teat of the wild animal which they had been seen to suck. The beauty and dignity of their persons, even in their childhood, promised a generous disposition; and as they grew up, they both discovered great bravery, with an inclination to hazardous attempts, and a spirit which nothing could subdue. But Romulus seemed more to cultivate the powers of reason, and to excel in political knowledge; while, by his deportment among his neighbours in the employments of pasturage and hunting, he convinced them that he was born to command rather than to obey. To their equals and inferiors they behaved most courteously; but they despised the king's bailiffs and chief herdsmen, as not loftier than themselves in courage, though they were higher in authority, disregarding at once their threats and their resentment. They applied themselves to generous exercises and pursuits, considering not idleness and inactivity, but hunting, running, banishing or apprehending robbers, and delivering those who were oppressed, as liberal and praise-

¹⁵ Numitor might build upon this the hopes of his re-establishment; but his knowing the place where the children were educated, and supplying them with necessaries, is quite inconsistent with the manner of their discovery when grown up, which is the most interesting part of the story.

¹⁶ An Alban colony, twelve miles from Rome, where (according to Dion. Halic. i. 19.) they were instructed in Greek literature, the Belles Lettres, and the use of arms.*

worthy. By these things they acquired considerable renown.

A dispute arising between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius, and the former having driven away some cattle belonging to the latter, Romulus and Remus fell upon them, put them to flight, and recovered the greatest part of the booty. At this conduct Numitor was highly offended; but they little regarded his indignation. The first steps, which they took upon this occasion, were to collect and receive into their company persons of desperate fortunes, and a number of slaves; a measure, which gave alarming proofs of their bold and seditious inclinations. It happened that when Romulus was employed in sacrificing, for to that and to divination he was much inclined, Numitor's herdsmen met with Remus, as he was walking with a small retinue, and attacked him. After some blows exchanged, and wounds given and received, Numitor's people prevailed, and took Remus prisoner. He was carried before Numitor, and had several things laid to his charge; but Numitor did not choose to punish him himself, from apprehension of his brother's resentment. To him, therefore, he confidently applied for justice; since, though brother to the reigning prince, he had been injured by some of the royal servants. The people of Alba moreover expressing their uneasiness, and thinking that Numitor suffered great indignities, Amulius moved with their complaints delivered Remus to him, to be treated as he should think proper. When the youth was conducted to his house, Numitor was deeply struck with his appearance, as he was remarkable for size and strength: he observed likewise his presence of mind, and the steadiness of his looks, which had nothing servile in them, and remained unaltered under the sense of his present danger; and he was informed, that his actions and whole behaviour corresponded with these appearances. But, above all, some divine influence (as it seems) directing the beginnings

of the extraordinary events that were to follow, Numitor, by his sagacity or by a fortunate conjecture suspecting the truth, questioned him concerning the circumstances of his birth; speaking mildly at the same time, and regarding him with a gracious eye. Upon which, he boldly replied; "I will hide nothing from you, for you behave in a more princely manner than Amulius, since you hear and examine before you punish¹⁷: but he has delivered us up, without making any inquiry into the matter. I have a twin-brother, and hitherto we have believed ourselves the sons of Faustulus and Larentia, servants of the king. But since we have been accused before you, and are so pursued by slander as to be in danger of our lives, we hear nobler things concerning our birth. Whether they be true or not, the present crisis will show¹⁸. Our birth is said to have been secret, our support in infancy miraculous. We were exposed to birds and wild beasts, and by them nourished; suckled by a she-wolf, and fed by the attention of a woodpecker, as we lay in a trough by the great river. The trough is still preserved, bound about with brass bands, and inscribed with letters partly

¹⁷ I subjoin a note from high authority upon this subject: "The philosophical poet doth notably describe the damnable and damned proceedings of the judge of hell,

*Gnosius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
Castigatque, auditque dolos, subigitque fateri.*

(Virg. *Æn.* vi. 566.)

First he punisheth, and then he heareth, and lastly compelleth to confess, and makes and mays laws at his pleasure; like as the Centurion, in the holy history, did to St. Paul: for the text saith, 'Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains; and demanded who he was, and what he had done.' Acts xxi. 33. But good judges abhor these courses." (Coke, 2 Inst. 55.)*

¹⁸ They had, undoubtedly, heard some vague story of their singular preservation in infancy; and hence Remus would naturally conclude that, if it were true, the god who had thus miraculously protected them in their infancy, would deliver him from his present peril.

“ effaced ; which may prove perhaps hereafter “ useless tokens to our parents, when we are destroyed.” Numitor hearing this, and comparing the time with the young man’s looks, was confirmed in the pleasing hope which he had conceived, and considered how he might consult his daughter about this affair ; for she was still kept in close custody.

Meanwhile Faustulus, having heard that Remus was taken and delivered up to punishment, desired Romulus to assist his brother, informing him clearly at the same time of the particulars of his birth ; for he had previously only given dark hints about it, and signified just so much, as might divert the attention of his wards from every thing mean and discreditable. He himself took the trough, and in all the tumult of concern and fear carried it to Numitor. His disorder raised some suspicion in the king’s guards at the gate, and that disorder increasing, while they looked earnestly upon him and perplexed him with their questions, he was discovered to have a trough under his cloke. There happened to be among them one of those¹⁹, who had had it in charge to throw the children into the river, and who was concerned in the exposing of them. This man seeing the trough, and knowing it again by it’s make and inscription, rightly guessed the business ; and thinking it an affair not to be neglected, immediately acquainted the king with it, and induced him to examine the matter. Amidst these pressing difficulties, Faustulus did not entirely preserve his presence of mind, nor yet fully discover the matter. He acknowledged, that the children were indeed saved, but said that they kept cattle at a great distance from Alba ; and that he was carrying the

¹⁹ This seems to contradict what Plutarch has above related, viz. that only one servant (most probably, Faustulus himself) had been employed upon this unnatural commission : but Dion. Halic. expressly states, that there were several so engaged.*

trough to Ilia, who had often desired to see it, to encourage herself in the hope that her sons were still alive. All, that persons perplexed and actuated with fear or anger usually suffer, Amulius then endured; for in his hurry he sent an honest man, a friend of Numitor, to inquire of him, whether he had any account that the children were living²⁰. When the man was come, and saw Remus almost in the embraces of Numitor, he endeavoured to confirm him in the persuasion that the youth was really his grandson; entreating him at the same time, to take instantly the best measures that could be devised, and give his zealous assistance to support their party. The occasion admitted no delay, if they had been inclined to it; for Romulus was now at hand, and a number of the citizens were gathered about him, either out of hatred or fear of Amulius. He brought also a considerable force along with him, divided into companies of a hundred men each, headed by an officer who bore a handful of grass and shrubs upon a pole. These the Latins call *Manipuli*; and hence it is, that to this day soldiers of the same company are called *Manipulares*. Remus then having gained those within, and Romulus assaulting the palace from without, the tyrant knew not what to do or whom to consult, but amidst his doubts and perplexity was taken and slain. These particulars, though mostly related by Fabius and Diocles the Peparethian, who seems to have been the first that wrote about the founding of Rome, are yet suspected by some as fabulous and groundless. Perhaps however we ought not to be so incredulous, when we see what extraordinary events fortune produces; nor, when we consider what height of greatness Rome attained, can we think it could ever have

²⁰ Nothing can well appear more incredible than the conduct, here assigned by Plutarch to Amulius; especially, if we compare with it the account of the same transaction preserved by Dion. Halic. i. 19.*

been effected without some supernatural assistance at first, and an origin more than human ²¹.

Amulius being dead, and the troubles composed, the two brothers were not willing to live in Alba without governing there, nor yet to take the government upon them during their grandfather's life. Having therefore invested him with it, and paid due honours to their mother, they determined to dwell in a city of their own; and for that purpose to build one in the place, where they had received their first nourishment. This seems, at least, the most plausible reason for their having quitted Alba: and perhaps too it was an unavoidable alternative, as a number of slaves and fugitives was collected about them, either to see their affairs entirely ruined if these should disperse, or with them to seek another habitation: for that the people of Alba refused to permit the fugitives to mix with them, or to receive them as citizens, sufficiently appears from the rape of the women; which was not undertaken out of a licentious humour, but deliberately and through necessity from the want of wives, since after they seized them, they treated them with the utmost respect.

As soon as the foundation of the city was laid, they opened a place of refuge for fugitives, which they called the Temple of the Asylæan God ²². Here they received all that came, and would neither deliver up the slave to his master, the debtor to his creditor, nor the murderer to the magistrate; declaring, that they were directed by the oracle of

²¹ This passage might be quoted, as an instance of the credulity of Plutarch; but it is perhaps a still stronger proof of his *inconsistence*: for without false logic, as well as false religion, what connection can be traced between the ultimate flights of the Roman eagle, and the story of the miraculous wolf?*

²² It is not certain, who this God of Refuge was. M. Dacier conjectures, Apollo. Dionysius of Halicarnassus informs us, that in his time the place, where the Asylum had stood, was consecrated to Jupiter. Romulus did not at first receive the fugitives and outlaws within the walls, but allowed them the hill Saturnius, afterward called Capitoline, for their habitation.

Apollo to preserve the Asylum from all violation. Thus the city was soon peopled²³; for it is said, that the houses at first did not exceed a thousand. But of that hereafter. ✓

While they were intent upon building, a dispute soon arose about the place. Romulus having founded a square, which he called Roma, would have the city placed there; but Remus marked out a more secure situation on Mount Aventine, which from him was called Remonium²⁴, and has now the name of Rignarium. The dispute was referred to the decision of augury; and for this purpose they sat down in the open air, when Remus (we are told) saw six vultures, and Romulus twice as many. Some say, Remus' account of the number he had seen was true, and that of Romulus not so; but, that when Remus came up to him, he did really see twelve²⁵. Hence the Romans, in their divination by the flight of birds, chiefly regard the vulture: though Herodorus of Pontus relates, that Hercules used to rejoice when a vulture appeared to him, as he was undertaking any great action. This was, probably, because it is a creature the least mischievous of any, pernicious neither to corn, nor plants, nor cattle. It only feeds upon carcasses; and neither kills, nor preys upon, any thing that has life²⁶. As for birds,

²³ Most of the Trojans, of whom there still remained fifty families in Augustus' time, chose to follow the fortunes of Romulus and Remus, as did also the inhabitants of Pallantium and Saturnia, two small towns near Alba.

²⁴ We find no mention either of Remonium or Rignarium, in any other writer. An anonymous MS. reads 'Remoria:' and Festus (De L. L. ii.) informs us, that the summit of Mount Aventine was called Remuria, from the time Remus resolved to build the city there. But Dion. Halic. (i. 20.) speaks of mount Aventine and Remuria, as two different places; and Stephanus will have Remuria to have been a city in the neighbourhood of Rome.

²⁵ For more detailed particulars of this very improbable story, which seems to incline even the judicious Ricard to M. Gebelin's allegorical hypothesis, see Dion. Halic. i. 20.*

²⁶ This is not quite accurate; for, though cowardice inclines the vulture to prefer carcasses, it's voracity carries it occasionally to the pursuit of living animals: in which, from natural pusillanimity, it

it does not touch them even when dead, because they are of it's own nature, whereas eagles, owls, and hawks tear and kill their kind; and, according to Æschylus,

What bird is clean, that fellow-birds devours?

Besides, other birds are frequently seen, and may be found at any time; but a vulture is an uncommon object, and we have seldom met with any of their young: whence the rarity of them has occasioned in some an absurd opinion, that they migrate from other countries; and soothsayers pronounce every unusual appearance preternatural, and the effect of a divine power.

When Remus learned that he was imposed upon, he was highly incensed; and, as Romulus was opening a ditch round the place where the walls were to be built, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, as he presumed to leap over it, some report that he fell by the hand of Romulus²⁷; others, by that of Celer, one of his com-

associates with others, contrary to the usual practice of birds of prey. The rarity of these birds, mentioned below, may be added as a farther proof of the absurdity of the whole narrative.*

²⁷ The two brothers first differed about the place, where their new city was to be built; and referring the matter to their grandfather, he advised them to have it decided by augury. In this augury, Romulus imposed upon Remus; and, when the former prevailed that the city should be built upon Mount Palatine, the builders being divided into two companies were no better than two factions. At last Remus in contempt leaped over the *fosse*, and said, 'Thus will the enemy leap over it:' upon which Celer gave him a deadly blow, and answered, 'And thus will our citizens repulse the enemy.' Romulus, according to some authors, was so much afflicted at the death of his brother, that he would have laid violent hands upon himself, if he had not been prevented (L.) by the solicitations of Larentia. Dion. Halic. (i. 20.) says, that Remus leaped over the wall, when finished; but this can surely refer only to their line of circummarcation.

Plutarch here confounds the two stories of Remus' death, of which Livy (i. 7.) details the separate accounts, though he represents that, which makes him fall by the hand of Romulus in a general squabble, as the more current tradition.*

panions. Faustus also perished in the scuffle, and Plistinus, who being brother to Faustus is said to have assisted in bringing Romulus up. Celer fled into Tuscany; and from him such as are swift of foot, or expeditious in business, are by the Romans called *celeres*. Thus when Quintus Metellus, within a few days after his father's death, provided a show of gladiators, the people admiring his quick despatch gave him the name of Celer.

Romulus buried his brother Remus, together with his foster fathers, in Remonia; and then built his city, having sent for persons from Hetruria²⁸, who (as it is usual in sacred mysteries) according to stated ceremonies and written rules, were to direct how every thing was to be done. First, a circular ditch was dug about what is now called the Comitium, and the first-fruits of every thing, that is reckoned either good by use or necessary by nature, were cast into it; and then each, bringing a small quantity of the earth of the country whence he came, threw it in promiscuously²⁹. This ditch had the name of Mundus, the same with that of the universe. In the next place, they marked out the city, like a circle, round this centre; and the founder having fitted to a plough a brasen plough-share, and yoked a bull and a cow³⁰, himself drew a deep

²⁸ The Hetrurians or Tuscans had, as Festus informs us, a sort of ritual, in which were contained the ceremonies to be observed in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. They were instructed in augury and religious rites by Tages, who is said to have been taught by Mercury. (Cic. Div. ii. 23., and Ov. Met. xv. 553.)

²⁹ Ovid does not say, it was a handful of the earth that each had brought out of his own country, but of the earth which he had taken from his neighbours; which was done to signify, that Rome would soon subdue the neighbouring nations. But Isidorus (xxv. 2.) is of opinion, that by throwing the first-fruits and a handful of earth into the trench, they admonished the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief study to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life, to maintain peace and union among a people come together from different parts of the world, and thus to form themselves into a body never to be dissolved.

³⁰ As emblematical of fecundity. The elods turned inward were to imply, that the walls should never be destroyed.*

narrow round the boundaries. The business of those, that followed, was to turn all the clods raised by the plough inward to the city, and not to suffer any to remain outward. This line described the compass of the city ; and between it and the walls is a space, called by contraction *Pomerium*³¹, as lying behind or beyond the wall. Where they designed to have a gate, they took the plough-share out of the ground, and lifted up the plough, making a break for it. Hence they look upon the whole wall as sacred, except the gate-ways. If they considered the gates in the same light as the rest, it would be deemed unlawful either to receive the necessaries of life by them, or to carry out through them what is unclean.

The day, upon which they began to build the city, is universally allowed to be the twenty-first of April; and is celebrated annually by the Romans, as the birth-day of Rome. At first, we are told, they sacrificed nothing that had life ; persuaded, that they ought to keep pure, and without bloodshed, the solemnity sacred to the birth of their country. Before the city however was built, on that same day they had kept a pastoral feast called *Palilia*³². At present, indeed, there is very little analogy between the Roman and the Grecian months ; yet the day, upon which Romulus founded the city, is strongly affirmed to be the thirtieth of the month *Elaphebolion*. On that day likewise, we are informed, there was a conjunction of the sun and moon, attended

³¹ From Livy (i. 44.) it appears that the *post-mœrium* or *murum* (for so, according to Crevier, Perizonius divides the word) comprised not only the unoccupied space between the wall and the nearest houses within, but an equal extent without, which it was unlawful to cultivate.*

³² The *Palilia*, or Feast of Pales (the Goddess of Flocks) is sometimes called 'Parilia,' from the Latin word *parere*, 'to bring forth,' because prayers were then offered for the fruitfulness of the sheep. According to Ovid (*Fast.* iv. 721, &c.) the shepherds celebrated a great feast at night, and concluded the whole with dancing round the fires, which they had made in the fields with heaps of straw.

with an eclipse³³, the same that was observed by Antimachus the Teian poet, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

Varro the philosopher, a man of all the Romans the most skilled in history, had an acquaintance named Tarutius³⁴, who beside his knowledge in philosophy and the mathematics, to indulge his speculative turn had applied himself to astrology, and was thought to be a perfect adept. To him Varro proposed to compute the day and hour of Romulus' birth, founding his calculation upon the known events of his life, as problems in geometry are solved by the analytic method; for it belongs to the same science, when a man's nativity is given, to predict his life, and when his life is given, to trace back his nativity. Tarutius complied with the request; and when he had considered the disposition and actions of Romulus, how long he lived, and in what manner he died, and had put all these things together, he affirmed without doubt or hesitation that his conception was in the first year of the second Olympiad, on the twenty-third day of the month which the Egyptians call Chocac [December] at the third hour, when the sun was totally eclipsed³⁵; that his birth was on the twenty-third day of the month Thoth

³³ Not of the moon (as Amyot translates the passage), which could not happen on the thirtieth of a lunar month; but of the sun, which happened A. C. 753.*

³⁴ With this profound astrologer Cicero was much connected (Div. ii. 47.): but, as there was no solar eclipse on the day mentioned, we cannot entertain any great veneration for his skill. The Egyptian months, whose beginnings do not entirely quadrate with ours, are used below in reference to the country, whose astrological system he had adopted.*

³⁵ There was no total eclipse of the sun in the first year of the second Olympiad, but in the second year of that Olympiad there was. If Romulus was conceived in the year last named, it will agree with the common opinion, that he was 18 years old when he founded Rome, and that Rome was founded Ol. vii. 1. (L.) This is Cato's opinion, and he is supported in it by Dion. Halic., Soïmus, Eusebius, and a host of modern chronologists: on the other hand Varro, Cicero, and Scaliger, fix that event a year sooner. We have adopted the canon of Blair.*

[September] about sun-rise; and that he founded Rome on the ninth of the month Pharmuthi [April] between the second and third hour; for it is supposed that the fortunes of cities, as well as of men, have their proper periods determined by the positions of the stars at the time of their nativity. These and similar relations may perhaps rather please the reader, because they are curious, than disgust him, because they are fabulous.

When the city was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse³⁵, and was called a Legion, because the most warlike persons were 'selected.' The rest of the multitude he called the People. A hundred of the most considerable citizens he took for his council, with the title of Patricians³⁶, and the whole body was called the Senate, which signifies an assembly of Old Men. It's members were stiled Patricians; because, as some say, they were 'fathers' of free-born children; or rather, according to others, because they themselves had 'fathers' to show, which was not the case with many of the rabble that first flocked to the city³⁷. Others derive the title from *Patrocinium* (or 'Patronage'), attribut-

³⁵ Instead of this, Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us the whole colony consisted of but 3300 men. These Romulus divided into three equal parts, which he called 'tribes' or 'thirds,' each to be commanded by it's præfect or tribune. The tribes were divided into ten 'curiæ,' and these subdivided into ten 'decuriæ.' The number of houses, or rather of huts, which was only a thousand, bears witness to the truth of Dionysius' assertion. But the mean rabble (it is probable) who availed themselves of the protection of the Asylum, and who might be very numerous, were not reckoned among the original colonists, though they were subsequently admitted to the privileges of citizens.

³⁷ The choice of these hundred persons was not made by the king himself: each tribe chose three senators, and each of the thirty curiæ the like number, which made in all the number of ninety-nine; so that Romulus named only the hundredth, who was the head or prince of the senate, and the chief governor of the city when the king was in the field. (Dion. Halic. ii. 5.)

³⁸ On this subject, see a different opinion in Dion. Halic. ii. 4.*

ing the origin of the term to one Patron, who came over with Evander, and was remarkable for his humanity and care of the distressed. But we shall be near the truth, if we conclude that Romulus stiled them Patricians, as expecting that the first and most powerful citizens would watch over those in humble stations with a paternal care and regard: teaching them in their turn, not to fear or envy the power of their superiors; but to behave to them with love and respect, both considering and addressing them as fathers. For, at this very time, foreign nations call the senators Lords; but the Romans themselves call them Conscrip Fathers, a stile of greater dignity and honour, and likewise much less invidious. At first, indeed, they were called Fathers only; but afterward, when more were enrolled in their body, Conscrip Fathers³⁹. By this venerable title, then, he distinguished the senate from the people. He introduced likewise another distinction between the nobility and the commons, calling the former Patrons⁴⁰, and the others Clients; which was the source of mutual kindness, and many good offices between them. For the Patrons were to those, whom they had taken under their protection, counsellors and advocates in their suits at law, and advisers and assistants upon all occasions. On the other

³⁹ The descendents of these two classes were, in after-times, discriminated by the names of *Patres Majorum* and *Minorum Gentium*.*

⁴⁰ This patronage was as effectual as any consanguinity or alliance, and had a wonderful effect toward maintaining union among the people for the space of 620 years; during which period we find no dissensions or jealousies between the patrons and their clients, even in the time of the republic, when the populace frequently mutinied against those who were most powerful in the city. At last the great sedition, raised by Caius Gracchus, interrupted this harmony. A client indeed, who was wanting in his duty to his patron, was deemed a traitor and an outlaw, and liable to be put to death by any person whatever. (Dion. Halic.) It may be proper to observe, that not only plebeians chose their patrons, but in process of time cities and states put themselves likewise under the same protection.

hand, the Clients failed not in their attentions to their Patrons, whether they were to be shown in deference and respect, or in providing their daughters' portions, or in satisfying their creditors, if their circumstances happened to be narrow⁴¹. No law or magistrate obliged the Patron to be evidence against his Client, or the Client against his Patron. In after-times however, though the other claims continued in full force, it was looked upon as ungenerous for persons of condition to take money from those below them⁴². But enough upon this subject.

In the fourth month after the building of the city⁴³, as Fabius informs us, the rape of the Sabine women was carried into execution. Some say, Romulus himself, who was naturally warlike, and persuaded by certain oracles that the fates had decreed Rome should attain greatness by military achievements, began hostilities against the Sabines, and seized only thirty virgins, being more desirous of war than of wives for his people. But this is not probable. For as he saw his city soon filled with inhabitants, very few of whom were married, the chief part consisting of a mixed rabble of mean and obscure persons, to whom no regard was paid and who did not expect to remain long together, the enterprise naturally took that turn: and he hoped that from this attempt, though an unjust one, some alliance and union with the Sabines would be obtained, when it should appear that they treated the women kindly. In order to this, he first gave out that he had found the altar of some god, which had been covered with earth. This deity they called Consus, meaning

⁴¹ To which Dion. Halic. adds (ii. 4.) paying the costs of their unsuccessful suits at law, and supplying them with money for the expenses of their magistracies, &c.*

⁴² This forbearance did not include strangers.*

⁴³ Cn. Gellius (quoted in Dion. Halic. ii. 9.) says, it was in the fourth year. This is confirmed by the *Fasti Capitolini*, which place the war with the Cæninenses (immediately subsequent to this event) A. U. C. 4. Livy too (i. 9.) says, that the Romans had then acquired strength to resist their neighbours.*

either the God of Counsel (for with them the word *concilium* has that signification, and their chief magistrates afterward were Consuls, persons who were to 'consult' the public good) or else the Equestrian Neptune; for the altar in the Circus Maximus⁴⁴, at other times invisible, is during the Circensian games uncovered. Some say, it was proper that the altar of that God should be under ground, because counsel should be as private and secret as possible. Upon this discovery, Romulus by proclamation appointed a day for a splendid sacrifice, with public games and shows. Multitudes assembled at the time, and he himself presided sitting among his nobles, clothed in purple. As a signal for the assault, he was to rise, gather up his robe, and fold it about him. Many of his people wore swords that day, and kept their eyes upon him, watching for the signal; which was no sooner given, than they drew them, and rushing on with a shout seized the daughters of the Sabines, but quietly suffered the men to escape. Some say⁴⁵ only thirty were carried off, who each gave name to a tribe, but Valerius Antias makes their number five hundred and twenty-seven; and, according to Juba⁴⁶, there were six hundred and eighty-three, all virgins. This was the best apology for Romulus; for they had taken but one married woman, named Ersilia, who was afterward chiefly concerned in effecting a reconciliation; and her they took by mistake, as they were not incited to this violence by lust or injustice, but by their desire to unite the two nations

⁴⁴ That is to say, in the place, where Ancus Martius afterward built the Great Circus for horse- and chariot-races.

⁴⁵ Livy (i. 13.) is of that number, though at other times he frequently follows the authority of Val. Antias. The name of Ersilia, introduced below, will be familiar to such as have read the elegant M. Florian's *Numa Pompilius*.*

⁴⁶ This was the son of Juba, king of Mauritania; who, being brought very young a captive to Rome, was instructed in the Roman and Grecian literature, and became an excellent historian. (L.) Augustus restored to him a part of his paternal dominions, and gave him Antony's daughter Cleopatra to wife. Dion. Halic. has followed his account.*

in the strongest ties. Some tell us Ersilia was married to Hostilius, one of the most eminent men among the Romans: others, that Romulus himself married her, and had two children by her; a daughter named Prima, on account of her being first-born, and an only son, whom he called Aollius (because of the great concourse of people, *colleis*, to him), but after-ages, Abillius. This account we have from Zenodotus of Trœzene, who is contradicted in it however by many other historians.

Among those that committed this rape, we are told some of the meaner sort happened to be carrying off a virgin of uncommon beauty and stature; and, when others of superior rank that met them attempted to take her away, they cried out, they were conducting her to Talasius, a young man of excellent character. Upon hearing this, they applauded the design: and some even turned back, and accompanied them with the utmost satisfaction; all the way exclaiming, “Talasio.” Hence this became a term in the nuptial songs of the Romans, as Hymenæus is in those of the Greeks; for Talasius is said to have been very happy in marriage. But Sextius Sylla the Carthaginian, a man beloved both by the Muses and the Graces, told me, that this was the word which Romulus gave as a signal for the rape. They all therefore, as they were carrying off the virgins, cried out “Talasio;” and thence it still continues the custom at marriages. Most writers however, and Juba in particular, are of opinion, that it is only an incitement to good housewifery and spinning, which the word *Talasia* signifies⁴⁷; Italic terms being at that time thus mixed with Greek⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ From *ταλαρος*. It may be observed, that all the Roman ladies spun dresses for their husbands and children; and that even Augustus appeared clothed in the labours of his wife and family.*

⁴⁸ The original, which runs thus, *Οἱ δὲ πλείοι νομιζουσιν, ὡν καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ, παρακλῆσιν εἶναι εἰς φιλεργίαν καὶ ταλασίαν, ΟΥΠΩ τοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνικοις ὀνομασί τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐπικεχυμέναν*, is manifestly corrupted; and all the former translations, following this corrupt reading, assert what is utterly false, viz. ‘that no Greek terms were then mixed

If this be right, and the Romans did then use the word *Talasia* in the same sense with the Greeks, another and a more probable reason of the custom may be assigned. For when the Sabines were reconciled with the Romans after the war, conditions

with the language of Italy.' The contrary appears from Plutarch's Life of Numa, where Greek terms are mentioned as frequently used by the Romans, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομασίων τότε μάλλ' ἢ νῦν ταῖς Λατιναῖς ἀναμιχρήμενων.

But let us inquire into the several former translations. The Latin runs thus: *Plerique (inter quos est Juba) adhortationem et incitationem ad laboris sedulitatem et lanificium, quod Greci τάλαιαν dicunt, consent, nondum id temporis Italicis verbis cum Græcis confusis.* The English thus: 'But most are of opinion, and Juba in particular, that this word *Talasius* was used to new-married women, by way of incitement to good housewifery: for the Greek word *Talasia* signifies 'spinning,' and the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek.' The French of Dacier thus: '*Cependant la plupart des auteurs croient, et Juba est même de cette opinion, que ce mot n'étoit qu'une exhortation qu'on faisoit aux mariées d'aimer le travail, qui consiste à filer de la laine, que les Grecs appellent Talasia; car en ce tems-là la langue Grecque n'avoit pas encore été corrompue par les mots Latins.*' Thus they declare, with one consent, that the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek; though it appears from what was said immediately before, that *Talasia*, a Greek term, was made use of in that language. Instead therefore of *ἔτι*, 'not yet,' we should most certainly read *ἔτι*, 'thus;' *ἔτι τότε ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ὀνομασίαις τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐπιμιχρήμενων*, 'the language of Italy being at that time thus mixed with Greek terms;' for instance, *Talasia*. By this emendation, which consists only of the small alteration of the *σ* into *τ*, the sense is easy, and the context clear; and Plutarch is freed from the charge of contradicting, in one breath, what he had asserted in another.

If this wanted any farther support, we might refer to a passage from Plutarch's Marcellus, which as well as that in the Life of Numa is express and decisive. Speaking there of the derivation of the word *Feretrius* (an appellation, which Jupiter probably first had in the time of Romulus, on occasion of his consecrating to him the *spolia opima*) one of his accounts is, that *Feretrius* might be derived from *Φερίτρον*, the vehicle upon which the trophy was carried, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα γλῶσσαν, ἔτι πολλὰν τότε συμμιμνημένην τῇ Λατινῇ: 'for at that time the Greek language was much mixed with the Latin.' (L.)

M. Ricard, however, follows the old reading and translations; and, in a long note in favour of it, conjectures that more Greek words would naturally be incorporated with the Latin Tongue, in the advanced period of Rome, from the increasing intercourse between the two countries.

were obtained for the women, that they should not be obliged by their husbands to do any other work beside spinning. It was usual therefore ever afterward that they, who gave the bride or conducted her home or were present on the occasion, should cry out, amidst the mirth of the wedding, "Talasio;" intimating that she was not to be employed in any labour, but that of spinning. And it is a custom still observed, that the bride should not go over the threshold of her husband's house herself, but be carried over; because the Sabine virgins did not enter voluntarily, but were carried in by violence. Some add, that the bride's hair is parted with the point of a spear, in memory of the first marriages being brought about in a warlike manner; of which we have spoken more fully, in the Book of Questions⁴⁹. This rape was committed on the eighteenth day of the month then called Sextilis, now August, at which time the feast of the Consualia is kept.

The Sabines were a numerous and warlike people, but they dwelt in unwall'd towns; thinking it became them, as a colony of the Lacedæmonians⁵⁰, to be bold and fearless. But as they saw themselves bound by such pledges, and were extremely solicitous for their daughters, they sent ambassadors to Romulus with moderate and equitable demands: That he should return them the young women, and disavow the violence; and that then the two nations should proceed to establish a correspondence, and contract alliances in a friendly and legal way. Romulus, however, refused to part with the young women, and entreated the Sabines to give their sanction to what had been done; upon which, some of

⁴⁹ In the passage referred to, Plutarch has omitted one of the most natural reasons, assigned by Festus, viz. that the lance, as an emblem of authority, might imply in the wife the duty of submission. M. Ricard's conjectures, as conjectures, I omit.*

⁵⁰ Of these (it appears from Dion. Halic. ii. 11.) a considerable number, shrinking from the rigour of Lycurgus' laws, had quitted Sparta, and settled in Italy, where their customs were adopted by the natives.*

them lost time in consulting and making preparations. But Acron king of the Ceninensians⁵¹, a man of spirit and an able general, suspected the tendency of Romulus' first enterprises; and, since he had behaved so boldly in the rape, looked upon him as one who would grow formidable and indeed insufferable to his neighbours, if he were not chastised. He therefore advanced to seek the enemy, and Romulus prepared to receive him. When they came in sight, and had well viewed each other, a challenge for single combat was mutually given, their forces standing under arms in silence. Upon this occasion Romulus made a vow that, if he conquered his enemy, he would himself dedicate his adversary's arms to Jupiter: in consequence of which he both overcame Acron, and after battle was joined, routed his army and took his city. But he did no injury to it's inhabitants, unless it were such to order them to demolish their houses, and follow him to Rome, as citizens entitled to equal privileges with the rest⁵². There was nothing indeed that contributed more to the greatness of Rome, than that she was always uniting and incorporating with herself those, whom she had conquered. Romulus having considered how he should perform his vow in the most acceptable manner to Jupiter, and at the same time make the procession most agreeable to his people, cut down a great oak that grew in the camp, and hewed it into the figure of a trophy; to this he fastened Acron's whole suit of armour, disposed in it's proper form. He then put on his own robes, and with a crown of laurel on his head, his hair gracefully flowing, took the trophy erect upon his right shoulder, and marched forward, singing the song of

⁵¹ A people of ancient Latium.*

⁵² There are many discrepancies (and some of them of considerable magnitude) with regard to the detail of this expedition, between Plutarch and the more regular historians, Dion. Halic. and Livy; the statement of which, even if it were of more importance, would exceed the just limits of a note.*

victory before his troops, who followed in complete armour, while the citizens received him with joy and admiration. This procession was the origin and model of future triumphs. The trophy was dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, so called from the Latin word *ferire*⁵³, ‘to smite;’ for Romulus had prayed, that he might have power to smite his adversary and kill him. Varro says, this sort of spoils is termed *opima*⁵⁴ from *opes*, which signifies ‘riches:’ but more probably they are so stiled from *opus*, the meaning of which is ‘action.’ For, when the general of any army kills the enemy’s general with his own hand, then only he is allowed to consecrate the spoils called *opima*, as the sole performer of that action⁵⁵. This honour has been conferred only upon three Roman chiefs; first, on Romulus, when he slew Acron the Ceninensian; next, on Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan; and lastly on Claudius Marcellus, when Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, fell by his hand. Cossus and

⁵³ Or (if *ferire* was not then in use, Dac.) from the word *ferre*, ‘to carry,’ because Romulus had himself carried the armour to the temple of Jupiter; or still more probably from the Greek word *phærettron*, which Livy (i. 10.) calls in Latin *ferculum*, and which properly signifies ‘a trophy.’

⁵⁴ Festus derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which signifies ‘the earth, and it’s riches;’ so that *opima spolia*, according to that writer, signify ‘rich spoils.’ (L.) *Opus* was then probably as little known as *ferire*, Dac.*

⁵⁵ This is Livy’s account of the matter; but Varro (as quoted by Festus) informs us, a Roman might be entitled to the *spolia opima*, though but a private soldier (*miles manipularis*), provided he killed and despoiled the enemy’s general. Accordingly Cornelius Cossus had them for killing Tolumnius, king of the Tuscans; though Cossus was but a tribune, who fought under the command of Æmilius. Cossus therefore, in all probability, did not enter Rome in a triumphal chariot, but followed that of his general, with the trophy upon his shoulder. (L.) For, though Livy (iv. 20.) seems to waver in his opinion with regard to Cossus’ rank at the time of his victory (in consequence of his having been assured by Augustus, that in the inscription he was denominated consul) this could only be in deference to his imperial patron: as Varro’s testimony must decidedly outweigh a doubtful legend, in which the title, if it existed at all, was most probably borrowed from the subsequent elevation of Cossus to the Consulship.*

Marcellus indeed, bearing the trophies themselves, drove into Rome in triumphal chariots; but Dionysius is mistaken in saying, that Romulus made use of a chariot; for some historians assert that Tarquinius, the son of Demaratus, was the first of the kings, that advanced triumphs to this pomp and grandeur: and others affirm, Publicola was the first, who triumphed in a chariot. There are statues⁵⁶ however of Romulus bearing these trophies, yet to be seen in Rome, which are all on foot.

After the defeat of the Ceninensians, while the rest of the Sabines were busied in preparations, the people of Fidenæ, Crustumerium, and Antemnæ united⁵⁷ against the Romans. A battle ensued, in which they likewise were defeated, and surrendered to Romulus their cities to be spoiled, their lands to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to Rome. All the lands thus acquired he distributed among the citizens, except what belonged to the parents of the stolen virgins; for those he left in the possession of their former owners. The rest of the Sabines, enraged at this, appointed Tatius their general, and carried the war to the gates of Rome. The city was difficult of access, having a strong garrison on the hill where the Capitol now stands, commanded by Tarpeius, not by the virgin Tarpeia, as some say, who in this represent Romulus as a very weak man. This Tarpeia, however, the governor's daughter, charmed with the golden bracelets of the Sabines, betrayed the fort into their hands; and demanded, in return for her treason, what they

⁵⁶ And medals, to the same purport. Qu. Yet — now that he, whom Burke in one of his splendid invectives denominates 'the universal robber,' has been there? (1805.)*

⁵⁷ Or (according to other authors) fought each separately, as soon as they had respectively completed their preparations for war, and with the usual issue; *dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.* (Tac. Germ.) The Fidenates, more especially, could have nothing to do in this coalition: as they were Tuscans (Liv. i. 15.), a dependency of Veii; and indeed had no struggle with the Romans, till after the death of Tatius.*

wore on their left-arms. Tatius agreeing to the condition, she opened one of the gates by night, and let in the Sabines. It was not, it seems, the sentiment of Antigonus alone, who observed, "He loved men while they were betraying, but hated them when they had betrayed;" nor of Cæsar, who said, in the case of Rhymitalces the Thracian, "He loved the treason, but hated the traitor." But men are commonly affected toward villains, for whom they have occasion, just as they are toward venomous creatures, of which they have need for their poison and their gall. While they are of use, they like them, but they abhor them, as soon as their purpose is effected. Such were the sentiments of Tatius with regard to Tarpeia, when he ordered the Sabines to remember their promise, and to grudge her nothing which they had on their left-arms. He was himself the first to take off his bracelet, and throw it to her, and with it his shield⁵⁸. As every one did the same, she was overpowered by the gold and shields thrown upon her, and sinking under the weight expired. Tarpeius was also apprehended, and as Juba after Sulpitius Galba relates, condemned by Romulus for treason. As for the account given of Tarpeia by other writers, among whom Antigonus⁵⁹ is one, it is absurd and incredible: They say, that she was daughter to Tatius the Sabine general; and being compelled to live with Romulus, acted and suffered thus by her father's contrivance. But the poet Simulus makes a most

⁵⁸ Piso and other historians say, that Tatius treated her in this manner because she had acted a double part, and endeavoured to betray the Sabines to Romulus, while she was pretending to betray the Romans to them. (L.) (Dion. Halic. ii. 10.); and, in proof of this opinion, refer to the honours paid her by the Romans after her death. Livy (i. 11.) records the same statement, and without contradicting it.*

⁵⁹ Antigonus Caristius wrote a History of Italy, and compiled a Collection of Marvellous Stories, under Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Simulus, mentioned below, wrote a History of Italy in verse.*

egregious blunder, when he says Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, not to the Sabines but to the Gauls, having fallen in love with their king. His account is as follows :

From her high dome Tarpeia, wretched maid,
To the fell Gauls the Capitol betray'd;
The hapless victim of unchaste desires,
She lost the fortress of her sceptred sires.

And a little afterward, upon her death,

Not swarming Celts, nor fierce barbarians bore
The fair Tarpeia to their stormy shore;
Press'd by those shields, whose splendour she admired,
She sunk, and in the shining death expired.

From the place, where Tarpeia was buried, the hill had the name of the Tarpeian; till Tarquin consecrated the place to Jupiter, at which time her bones were removed, and so it lost her name; except that part of the Capitol, whence malefactors are thrown down, which is still called 'the Tarpeian rock.'

The Sabines thus possessed of the fort, Romulus in great fury offered them battle, which Tatius did not decline, as he saw he had a place of strength to retreat to, if he were worsted. And the spot indeed upon which he was to engage, being surrounded with hills, seemed to promise on both sides a sharp and bloody contest; because it was so confined, and the outlets were so narrow, that it was not easy either to fly or to pursue. It happened likewise that the river had overflowed a few days before, and left a deep mud on the plain, where the Forum now stands; which, as it was covered with a crust, was not easily discoverable by the eye, but at the same time was soft underneath and impassable. The Sabines, ignorant of this, were pushing forward into it, but by good fortune were prevented: For Cur-

tius, a man of high distinction and spirit, being mounted on a good horse, advanced a considerable way before the rest⁶⁰. Presently his horse plunged into the slough, and for a while he endeavoured to disengage him, encouraging him with his voice, and urging him with blows; but finding all ineffectual, he quitted him, and saved himself. From him the place, to this very time, is called the Curtian Lake. The Sabines, having escaped this danger, began the fight with great bravery. The victory inclined to neither side, though many were slain, and among the rest Hostilius; who, they say, was husband to Ersilia, and grandfather to Numa's successor, Hostilius. There were probably many other battles in a short time, but the most memorable was the last; in which Romulus, having received a blow upon the head with a stone, was almost beaten to the ground, and no longer able to oppose the enemy: the Romans then gave way, and were driven from the plain as far as the Palatine Hill. By this time Romulus, having recovered from the shock, endeavoured by force to stop his men in their flight, and loudly called upon them to stand and renew the

⁶⁰ Livy (i. 13.) and Dion. Halic. (ii. 10.) relate the matter otherwise. They tell us, that Curtius at first repulsed the Romans: but being in his turn overpowered by Romulus, and endeavouring to make good his retreat, happened to fall (not so however, as to prevent his escape) into the lake, which from that time bore his name: for it was called Lacus Curtius, even when it was dried up, and almost in the centre of the Roman Forum. Prociilius says that, the earth having opened, the Aruspices declared it necessary for the safety of the republic, that the strength of the city (*id, quo plurimum populus Romanus posset*, Liv. vii. 6.) should be devoted to the gulf. This a young man, named Curtius, rightly interpreted of arms and bravery, and mounting his horse in its richest housings, leaped into it in complete armour; upon which, it immediately closed. Before the building of the common sewers, this pool was a sort of sink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think that it received its name from Curtius the consul, colleague to M. Genucius, because he caused it to be walled in by the advice of the Aruspices, after it had been struck with lightning. (Varrò de L. L. iv.)

engagement. But when he saw that the rout was general, and that no one had courage to face about, he lifted up his hands toward heaven, and prayed to Jupiter to stay the army, and to re-establish and maintain the Roman cause, which was now in extreme danger. When the prayer was ended, many of the fugitives were struck with reverence for their king, and their fear was changed into courage. They first stopped where now stands the temple of Jupiter Stator, so called from his having put a stop to their flight⁶¹. There they again engaged, and repulsed the Sabines as far as the palace now called Regia, and the temple of Vesta.

While they were here preparing to renew the combat with their original animosity, their ardour was repressed by an astonishing spectacle, which the powers of language are unable to describe. The daughters of the Sabines, that had been forcibly carried off, were seen rushing forward with loud cries and lamentations like persons distracted, amidst the drawn swords and over the dead bodies, to come at their husbands and fathers; some carrying their infants in their arms, some darting onward with dishevelled hair, but all calling by turns both upon the Sabines and the Romans by the tenderest names. Both parties were much agitated at the sight, and room was made for them between the armies. Their lamentations pierced to the extreme ranks, and all were deeply affected; particularly when their upbraiding and complaints ended in supplication and entreaty: "What heavy injury have
" we done you," said they, "that we have suffered,
" and do still suffer so many miseries? We were
" carried off, by those to whom we now belong,
" violently and illegally: after this violence we
" were so long neglected by our brothers, our fa-

⁶¹ Of this story, which occurs likewise in Livy, Dion. Halic. makes no mention.*

“thers, and relations, that we were necessitated
“to unite ourselves in the strongest ties to those,
“who had been the objects of our hatred; and we
“are now brought to tremble for the men that had
“so much injured us, when we see them in danger,
“and to lament them when they fall. For you
“came not to deliver us as virgins from violence,
“or to avenge our cause; but you tear wives from
“their husbands, and mothers from their children:
“an assistance more grievous to us, than all your
“neglect and disregard. Such love we experienced
“from them, and such compassion from you!
“Were the war undertaken in some other cause,
“yet surely you would stop it’s ravages for us,
“who have made you fathers-in-law and grand-
“fathers, or placed you in some other near affinity
“to those, whom you seek to destroy. If the war
“however be for us, take us along with your sons-
“in-law and their children, and restore us to our
“parents and kindred; but do not, we beseech
“you, rob us of our children and husbands, lest
“we again become captives.” Ersilia having said a
great deal to this purpose, and others joining in the
same request, a truce was agreed upon, and the
generals proceeded to a conference. In the mean
time the women presented their husbands and chil-
dren to their fathers and brothers, brought refresh-
ments to those who stood in need of them, and
carried the wounded home to be cured. Here they
showed them, that they had the ordering of their
own houses, what attentions their husbands paid
them, and with what respect and indulgence they
were treated. Upon this a peace was concluded,
the conditions of which were, that such of the
women as chose to remain with their husbands
should be exempt from all labour and drudgery, ex-
cept spinning (as we have mentioned above); that
the city should be inhabited by the Romans and
Sabines in common, with the name of Rome from
Romulus; but that all the citizens should be called

Quirites⁶², from Cures, the capital of the Sabines, and the country of Tatius, and that the regal power and the command of the army should be equally shared between them. The place, where these articles were ratified, is still called Comitium⁶³, from the Latin word *coïre*, which signifies ‘to assemble.’

The city having doubled the number of it's inhabitants, a hundred additional senators were elected from among the Sabines⁶⁴, and the legions were to consist of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse⁶⁵.

⁶² The word *Quiris*, in the Sabine language, signified both ‘a dart,’ and ‘a warlike deity armed with a dart.’ It is uncertain, whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god; but, however that be, this god Quiris or Quirinus was either Mars or some other god of war, and was worshipped in Rome till Romulus, who after his death was honoured with the name Quirinus, took his place. (L.) Dion. Halic. says, that the individual was called Romanus, and the people collectively Quirites: But the former part of his assertion is controverted by the ancient formula of announcing burials, *Ollus Quiris letho datus est.**

⁶³ The Comitium was at the foot of the Palatine hill, over-against the Capitol. Not far from that place the two kings built the temple of Vulcan, where they usually met to consult the senate about the most important affairs. (L.) The name itself was imposed long after the time of Romulus.*

⁶⁴ How happened it then, that during the interregnum which followed Romulus' death (as Plutarch himself states, in his Life of Numa) there were only 150 senators to divide among them the government? Is the biographer unconsciously at variance with himself? Or had Romulus toward the despotic end of his reign, through his undisguised contempt for the senate, neglected to fill up the vacancies in that body?*

⁶⁵ Ruayld, in his animadversions upon Plutarch, has discovered two considerable errors in this place. The first is, that he says there were 600 horse assigned by Romulus to every legion, whereas there never were, at any time, so many in any of the legions: for there were at first 200 horse in each legion; after that they rose to 300, and at last only to 400. The second, that Romulus made the legion to consist of 6000 foot; whereas, in his time, it was never more than half that number. It is said by some, that Marius was the first who raised the legion to 6000; but Livy informs us, that the augmentation was made long before Marius, by Scipio Africanus. After the expulsion of the kings, it was augmented from three to four thousand, some time afterward to five, and at last by Scipio to six. But this was never done, except upon pressing occasions. The stated force of a legion was 4000 foot, and 200 horse. (L.) M. Ricard justifies Plutarch, by representing the numbers

The people likewise were divided into three tribes, called Rhamnenses, from Romulus; Tatienses, from Tatius; and Lucerenses⁶⁶, from the *Lucus* or 'Grove' where the asylum stood, whither many had fled who were admitted citizens. That they were precisely three, appears from the very name of Tribes, and from that of their chief officers, who were called Tribunes. Each tribe contained ten *Curie*, or 'Wards,' which some say were called after the Sabine women. But this seems to be false; for several of them have their names from the several quarters of the city, which were assigned to them. Many honourable privileges however were conferred upon the women, some of which were these: That the men should give them the way, wherever they met them; that they should not mention an obscene word, or appear naked, before them; that, in the event of their killing any person, they should not be tried before the ordinary judges⁶⁷; and that their children should wear an ornament about their necks, called *Bulla*⁶⁸; from it's likeness to 'a bubble,'

mentioned in the text, as a Co-legion of Romans and Sabines, i. e. in effect two.*

⁶⁶ Upon the etymology of this name, however, there are various hypotheses. Livy (i. 13.) represents it as uncertain; while Festus derives it from one Lucerus, king of Ardea, and Varro (de L. L. iv. 9.) from one Lucumo, a famous Etrurian chieftain, both of whom had assisted Romulus in his wars. The Rhamnenses were chiefly from Alba, and dwelt on the Palatine and Celian hills: the Tatienses were Sabines, and to them the Capitoline and Quirinal hills were assigned: the remaining tribe consisted of the refugees from Etruria and Latium, and occupied the interval between the two former.*

⁶⁷ But by commissioners appointed out of the senate.*

⁶⁸ The young men, when they took upon them the *Toga virilis*, (or 'man's robe') quitted the *Bulla*, which is supposed to have been a little hollow ball of gold, and made an offering of it to the *Dii Lares* or 'Household Gods.' (L.) If they died before 16, it was usually enclosed in the urn, which held their ashes. From Macrobi. (Saturn. i. 6.) we learn that the *Bulla* was not confined to children, but worn (of a larger size however) by those who triumphed, by the chief vestal as an emblem of distinction, and by the matrons in general as an ornament of dress.*

As to the *Prætexta*, or 'robe edged with purple,' it was worn by

and a garment bordered with purple. The two kings did not presently unite their councils, each meeting for some time their hundred senators apart, but afterward they all assembled together. Tatius dwelt where the temple of Moneta now stands, and Romulus by the Steps of the Fair Shore, as they are called, at the descent from the Palatine Hill to the Great Circus. There, we are told, grew the sacred Cornel-tree; the fabulous account of which is, that Romulus once to try his strength⁶⁹ threw a spear with a shaft of cornel-wood from Mount Aventine to that place, the head of which stuck so deep in the ground, that no one could pull it out, though many tried; and the soil being rich so nourished the wood, that it shot forth branches, and became a trunk of cornel, of considerable bigness. This, posterity preserved with religious care, as a thing eminently sacred, and therefore built a wall about it: and when any one that approached it saw it not very flourishing and green, but inclining to fade and perish, he presently proclaimed it to all he met; who, as if they were summoned to assist at a fire, cried out for water, and ran from all quarters with full vessels to the place. But when Caius Cæsar ordered the Steps to be repaired, and the workmen were digging near it, it is said they inadvertently injured the roots in such a manner, that the tree withered away.

The Sabines received the Roman months. All, that is of importance upon this subject, is mentioned in the Life of Numa. Romulus on the other hand adopted the use of their shields, making an alteration in his own armour and that of the Romans⁷⁰, who before wore bucklers in the manner

girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen. But what in the time of Romulus was a mark of distinction for the children of the Sabine women, became subsequently very common; for even the children of the *Liberti*, or 'freed-men,' wore it.

⁶⁹ Or, according to Servius, to designate a space for augury.*

⁷⁰ *On doit remarquer que ce qui a le plus contribué à rendre les*

of the Greeks. They mutually celebrated each other's feasts and sacrifices, not abolishing those of either nation, but over and above appointing some new ones; one of which is the Matronalia⁷¹, instituted in honour of the women, for their having put an end to the war; and another, the Carmentalia⁷². Carmenta is by some supposed to be one of the Destinies, who presided over human nati- vities; she is, therefore, particularly worshipped by mothers. Others say, she was wife to Evander the Arcadian, and a woman addicted to divination, receiving inspirations from Apollo and delivering oracles in verse, and thence called Carmentā (for *Carmina* signifies 'verse'); but her proper name, as it is upon all hands agreed, was Nicostrata. Others again with greater probability assert, that the former name was given her, because she was distracted with enthusiastic fury; for *carere mente* signifies 'to be insane.' Of the feast of Palilia we have already given

Romains les maîtres du monde, c'est qu' ayant combattu successive- ment contre tous les peuples, ils ont toujours renoncé à leurs usages, sitôt qu'ils en ont trouvé de meilleurs. (Montesq. Grand. et Decad. des Romains, i.)*

⁷¹ During this feast, such of the Roman women as were married served their slaves at table, and received presents from their hus- bands, as the husbands did from their wives in the time of the Sa- turnalia. As the festival of the Matronalia was not only observed in honour of the Sabine women, but consecrated to Mars, and (as some will have it) to Juno Lucina, sacrifices were offered to both these deities. This feast was the subject of Horace's Ode; *Martiis cœlebs quid agam calendis*, &c. and Ovid describes it at large, Fast. iii. Dacier by mistake says, that this feast was kept on the 1st of April, instead of the 1st of March, and the former English annotator has followed him. (L.) M. Ricard thinks, that, as sacred to two deities, it was kept on both.*

⁷² This is a very solemn feast, kept on the 11th of January, under the Capitol, near the Carmental gate. In it they supplicated the goddess Carmenta to render their women fruitful, and to give them happy deliveries. (Ov. Fast. i. 617.) (L.) In another part of his works, Plutarch makes her the mother of Evander, as do like- wise Livy and Dion. Halic. The whole story, however, of this lady and her son, as well as of the Lupercalia, which follows, is by some resolved into astronomical allegory.*

an account. As for the Lupercalia⁷³, from the time it should seem to have been a feast of lustration; for it was celebrated on one of the inauspicious days of the month of February, which name denotes it to be the month of 'purifying,' and the day was formerly called Februa. But the true meaning of Lupercalia is, 'the Feast of Wolves;' and on that account it must apparently have been very ancient, as received from the Arcadians, who came over with Evander. This is the general opinion. The term may be indeed derived from *Lupa*, 'a she-wolf,' for we see the Luperci begin their course from the place, where they say Romulus was exposed. If we consider the ceremonies, however, the reason of the name seems hard to guess: For first, goats are killed; then two noblemen's sons are introduced, and some are to stain their foreheads with a bloody knife, while others instantly wipe off the stain with wool steeped in milk, which they bring for that purpose. After this, the young men are to laugh. They next cut the goats' skins in pieces, and run about perfectly naked except their middle, and lash with those thongs all whom they meet. The young women avoid not the stroke, as they think it assists conception and child-birth. Another thing peculiar to this feast is, that the Luperci sacrifice a dog. Butas, who in his *Elegies* has given a fabulous account of the origin of the Roman institutions, writes that after Romulus had overcome Amulius, in the transports of victory he ran with great speed to the place where the wolf had suckled him and his brother, when infants: and that this feast is celebrated, and

⁷³ This festival was celebrated on the 11th of February, in honour of the God Pan (L.); who, from his hostility to wolves, was denominated Lupercus. Of the fecundating power of his priests Ovid speaks, *Fast.* ii. 427., &c.

*Excipe sæcundæ patienter verbera dextræ,
Jam socer optati nomen habebit avi.**

the young noblemen run in imitation of that action, striking all that are in their way ;

As the famed twins of Rome, Amulius slain,
From Alba rush'd, and struck th' opposing train
With reeking blades.

And the touching of the forehead with a bloody knife is a symbol of that slaughter and danger, as wiping off the blood with milk is in memory of their first nourishment. But Caius Acilius⁷⁴ relates that, before the building of Rome, Romulus and Remus having lost their cattle first prayed to Faunus for success in the search of them, and then ran in quest of them naked, that they might not be incommoded by sweat ; and that, therefore, the Luperci run about naked. As to the dog, if this be a feast of lustration, we may suppose it sacrificed, in order to be used in purifying ; for the Greeks, in their purifications, make use of dogs, and perform the ceremonies which they call *Periskulakismoi*⁷⁵. But, if these rites are observed in gratitude to the wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, they kill a dog with great propriety, because it is an enemy to wolves : perhaps however nothing more was meant by it, than to punish that animal for disturbing the Luperci in their running.

Romulus is likewise said to have introduced the Sacred Fire, and to have appointed the holy virgins called Vestals⁷⁶. Others attribute this to Numa, but

⁷⁴ Tribune of the people, A. U. C. 556. He wrote in Greek some Annals, which (as Livy informs us) were translated into Latin by Claudius. His History is quoted by Cicero.*

⁷⁵ These consisted in drawing a dog or whelp round the person, upon whom the lustration was to be performed, and were very generally in use among the Greeks.*

⁷⁶ Plutarch must mean, that Romulus was the first who introduced the Sacred Fire at Rome. That there were Vestal virgins before this, at Alba, we are certain, because the mother of Romulus was one of them. The sacred and perpetual fire was kept up not only in Italy, but in Egypt, in Persia, in Greece, and in almost all nations. (L.) The Greeks had adopted the custom from the

allow that Romulus was remarkably strict in observing other religious rites, and well skilled in divination, for which purpose he bore the *Lituus*. This is a crooked staff, with which those, that sit to observe the flight of birds⁷⁷, describe the several quarters of the heavens. It was kept in the Capitol, but lost when Rome was taken by the Gauls; and found, after the barbarians had quitted it, buried deep in ashes, untouched by the fire, while every thing about it was consumed⁷⁸. Romulus also enacted some laws, and among the rest that severe one, which forbids the wife in any case to leave her husband⁷⁹, but gives the husband power to divorce his wife, in case of her poisoning his children, or counterfeiting his keys, or committing adultery⁸⁰. But if upon any other account he put her away, she was to have one moiety of his goods, and the other was to be consecrated to Ceres⁸¹; and whoever put away his wife, was to make an atonement to the gods of the earth. It is something particular, that Romulus appointed no punishment for actual parricides, but

east, where it was a natural consequence of the worship of the sun, or of fire.*

⁷⁷ The Augurs.

⁷⁸ Cicero (Div. i. 17.) states, that it was discovered in a chapel of the Salian priests upon Mount Palatine.*

⁷⁹ Yet this privilege, which Plutarch thinks a hardship upon the women, was granted to the men by Moses in greater latitude. The women, however, among the Romans came at length to divorce their husbands, as appears from Juvenal (Sat. ix.) and Martial (x. 41.) At the same time it must be observed, to the honour of Roman virtue, that no divorce was known at Rome for five hundred and twenty years. One P. Servilius, or Carvilius Spurius, was the first of the Romans, that put away his wife. See Parallel, not. (6).

⁸⁰ Upon this subject Dion. Halic. (ii. 8.) is at variance with Plutarch. That Romulus very probably ordained severe punishments for drunkenness and adultery in women, he allows; but, with most other authors, he denies that he instituted the law of divorce. Neither indeed is it probable, that the Sabines would have concurred in a regulation, which left their women so much at the mercy of their Roman husbands.*

⁸¹ The formula ran, *Familiam ad ædem Cereris: ipse Diti sacer esto*.*

called all murder paricide⁸²; looking upon the one as abominable, and the other as impossible. For many ages indeed he seemed to have judged rightly, as no one was guilty of that crime in Rome for almost six hundred years; and Lucius Ostius, after the wars of Annibal, is recorded to have been the first that committed it. But upon these topics I have dwelt sufficiently.

In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, some of his friends and kinsmen, meeting certain ambassadors who were going from Laurentum to Rome⁸³, attempted to rob them upon the road; and as they would not suffer it, but stood in their own defence, killed them. As this was an atrocious crime, Romulus required that those who committed it should immediately be punished, but Tatius hesitated and put it off. This was the first occasion of any open variance between them; for till now they had behaved themselves as if directed by one soul, and the administration had been carried on with all possible unanimity. The relations of those that had been murdered, finding that they could have no legal redress from Tatius, fell upon him and slew him at Lavinium, as he was offering sacrifice with Romulus⁸⁴; after which they conducted Romulus back with applause, as a prince who paid all proper regard to justice. To the body of Tatius he gave an honourable interment, at Armilustrum⁸⁵, on Mount

⁸² It is not a little remarkable, as Dacier observes, that the name 'paricide' should have existed so long before the thing itself.*

⁸³ Dion. Halic. says, they were ambassadors from Lavinium, who in the sixth year of Tatius' reign had been at Rome to complain of the incursions made by some of his friends upon their territories; and that, as they were returning, the Sabines lay in wait for them on the road, and stripped and killed several of them. Lavinium and Laurentum were neighbouring towns in Latium.

⁸⁴ This was, probably, a sacrifice to the Dii Indigetes of Latium, in which Rome was included: as the Trojan Penates remained at that place. Licinius however states, that Tatius did not go thither with Romulus, nor on account of the sacrifice; but that he went alone, to persuade the inhabitants to pardon the murderers.

⁸⁵ The place was so called, because of a ceremony of the same

Aventine ; but he took no care to revenge his death upon the persons, who had killed him. Some historians write, that the Laurentians in great terror gave up Tatius' murderers ; but Romulus let them go, saying, " Blood should be repaid with blood." This occasioned a report, and indeed a strong suspicion, that he was not sorry to get rid of his partner in the government. None of these things, however, occasioned any disturbance or sedition among the Sabines ; but partly out of regard for Romulus, partly out of fear of his power, or because they revered him as a god, they all continued firm in their allegiance. This their veneration extended to many other nations. The ancient Latins sent ambassadors, and entered into league and alliance with him. Fidenæ, a city in the neighbourhood of Rome, he took (as some say) by despatching a body of horse before, with orders to break the hinges of the gates, and then appearing unexpectedly in person. Others will have it, that the Fidenates first attacked and ravaged the Roman territories, and were carrying off considerable booty, when Romulus lay in ambush for them, cut many of them off, and took their city⁸⁶. He did not however demolish it, but made it a Roman colony, and sent into it two thousand five hundred inhabitants on the thirteenth of April.

After this, a plague broke out so fatal, that people died of it without any previous sickness : while the scarcity of fruits, and the barrenness of the cattle, added to the calamity. It rained blood too in the city⁸⁷ ; so that their unavoidable sufferings

name, celebrated every year on the 19th of October, when the troops were mustered and purified by sacrifices.

⁸⁶ In this account Livy (i. 14.) agrees with Plutarch ; but Dion. Halic. (ii. 13.) states, that as the Crustumers were sending a supply of provisions to the Romans, then afflicted with famine or the plague, the Fidenates attacked and plundered the convoy.*

⁸⁷ These alarming showers M. Ricard imputes to insects and crimson vapours, and represents them as being far from unusual in later times. We read likewise among the prodigies of former days, which (it would seem) have likewise had their modern parallel, of showers of stones.*

were increased by the terrors of superstition : and, when the destruction spread itself to Laurentum, all agreed it was for having neglected to do justice upon the murtherers of the ambassadors and of Tatiüs, that the divine vengeance pursued both cities. And indeed, after those murtherers were given up and punished by both parties, their calamities visibly abated ; and Romulus purified the city with lustrations, which (they tell us) are yet celebrated at the Ferentine gate. Before the pestilence ceased, the people of Cameria⁸⁸ attacked the Romans, and over-ran the country, thinking them incapable of resistance on account of the sickness. But Romulus quickly met them in the field, gave them battle in which he killed six thousand of them, took their city, and transplanted half it's remaining inhabitants to Rome ; adding, on the first of August, to those whom he left in Cameria double their number from Rome. So many people had he to spare, in about sixteen years' time from the building of the city. Among other spoils, he carried from Cameria a chariot of brass, which he consecrated in the temple of Vulcan, placing upon it his own statue crowned by victory.

His affairs thus flourishing, the weaker part of his neighbours submitted, satisfied if they could only live in peace : but the more powerful, dreading or envying Romulus, thought they should not by any means let him pass unnoticed, but oppose and put a stop to his growing greatness. The Veientes, who had a strong city and extensive country⁸⁹, were the first of the Tuscans who began the war, demanding Fidenæ as their property. It was both unjust however and ridiculous, that they who had given the

⁸⁸ This was a town of Latium, which Romulus had before taken. It's old inhabitants seized this opportunity to rise in arms, and massacre the Roman garrison.

⁸⁹ Veii, the capital of Tuscany, was situated on a craggy rock, about a hundred furlongs from Rome ; and for extent and riches is compared by Dion. Halic. to Athens.

people of Fidenæ no assistance in the greatest extremities, but had suffered them to perish, should challenge their houses and lands, now in the possession of other masters. Romulus therefore returned them a contemptuous answer, upon which they divided their forces into two bodies; one attacked the garrison of Fidenæ, and the other marched to meet Romulus. That which went against Fidenæ defeated the Romans, and killed two thousand of them; but the other was beaten by Romulus, with the loss of more than eight thousand men. They gave battle however once more at Fidenæ, where all allow the victory was chiefly owing to Romulus himself, whose skill and courage were then remarkably displayed, and whose strength and swiftness appeared more than human. But what some report is entirely fabulous, and utterly incredible, that there fell that day fourteen thousand men, above half of whom Romulus slew with his own hand. For even the Messenians seem to have been extravagant in their boasts, when they inform us that Aristomenes offered a hecatomb three several times, for having as often killed a hundred Lacedæmonians⁹⁰. After the Veientes were thus ruined, Romulus suffered the scattered remains to escape, and marched directly to their city. The inhabitants, unable to bear up after so dreadful a blow, humbly sued for peace; and obtained a truce for a hundred years by giving up a considerable part of their territory called *Septempagium*, (signifying, ‘a district of seven towns’⁹¹) together with the salt-pits by the river; beside which, they delivered into his hands fifty of their

⁹⁰ Pausanias (iv. 19.) confirms this account, mentioning both the time and the place of those achievements, as well as the hecatombs offered to Jupiter Ithomates. Those wars between the Messenians and Spartans were about the time of Tullus Hostilius.

⁹¹ So translated by Dion. Halic. Plutarch’s version, ‘seven parts,’ proves but too well, as does likewise his subsequent account of the *Lictors*, &c., that he did not without sufficient reason confess himself a mere smatterer in the Latin language. The district in question extended from Veii to the Tiber.*

nobility as hostages. He triumphed⁹² upon this occasion on the fifteenth of October: and was followed among many other captives by the general of the Veientes, a man in years, who seemed not to have behaved with the prudence, which might have been expected from his age. Hence it is that to this day, when they offer a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the Forum to the Capitol, in a boy's robe edged with purple and with a bulla about his neck, and the herald cries, "Sardians to be sold⁹³;" for the Tuscans are said to have been a colony of the Sardians, and Veii is a city of Tuscany.

This was the last of Romulus' wars. He now behaved as almost all men do, who rise by some unexpected good fortune to dignity and power; for exalted by his exploits, and loftier in his sentiments, he dropped his popular affability, and assumed the monarch to an odious degree. The first offence he caused by his dress; his habit being a purple vest⁹⁴, over which he wore a robe bordered with purple. He gave audience in a chair of state. He had always about him a number of young men called *Celeres*⁹⁵, from their despatch in doing business; and

⁹² For the third time, as Dion. Halic. remarks, and in a manner much more magnificent than before.*

⁹³ The Veientes, with the other *Hetrurians*, were a colony of *Lydiaus*, whose metropolis was the city of *Sardis*. *Festus*, after the historian *Sincius Capito*, dates this custom from the time of the conquest of *Sardinia* by *Tib. Semp. Gracchus*; when such a number of slaves was brought from that island, that none were to be seen in the market but *Sardinians*.

⁹⁴ This was the *sagum*, or 'military dress,' over which he wore the *paludamentum*, or 'general's robe,' fastened on the shoulder. But what chiefly rendered him odious was, his excessive severity in punishing the guilty. Some young men in particular of good families, who were accused of having made predatory incursions into the neighbouring states, by his sole judgement he condemned to be thrown from the *Tarpeian rock*. (Dion. Halic. ii. 14.) If this were a proper place, it would not be difficult to suggest a modern parallel to these active guards, this prodigal splendour, and this extrajudicial severity.*

⁹⁵ Romulus ordered the *Curiae* to choose him a guard of three

before him went men with staves to keep off the populace, who also wore thongs of leather at their girdles, ready instantly to bind any person upon his orders. This binding the Latins formerly called *ligare*, now *alligare*: whence those serjeants are called *Lictores*, and their rods *fascēs*; for the sticks, which they used upon that occasion, were small. Though perhaps at first they were called *Litores*, and afterward, by inserting a *c*, *Lictores*: being the same that the Greeks called *Leitourgoi* ('officers for the people'); and *leitōs* in Greek still signifies 'the people,' but *laos* 'the populace.'

When his grandfather Numitor died in Alba, though the crown undoubtedly belonged to him, yet to please the people he left the administration in their own hands; and over the Sabines⁹⁵ he appointed yearly a particular magistrate: thus teaching the great men of Rome to seek a free commonwealth without a king, and by turns to rule and to obey. For now the patricians had no share in the government, but only an honourable title and appearance, assembling in the senate-house more for form than business. There with silent attention they heard the king give his orders, and differed only from the rest of the people in this respect, that they went home with the first knowledge of what had been determined. This treatment, however, they digested as well as they could; but when of his own authority he divided the conquered lands among the soldiers, and restored to the Veientes their hostages

hundred men, ten out of each Curia; and these, for the reason which Plutarch has assigned, he called *Celerēs*.

⁹⁶ Xylander and H. Stephanus are rationally enough of opinion, that instead of 'Sabines' we should read 'Albans;' and so the Latin translator renders it. (L.) To this usage too of the Albans Dion. Halic., when speaking of the creation of the first Roman dictator, obviously refers. And why indeed should the Sabines have contended (which we find they did) that the second king should be selected from their nation, as the first had been a Roman, if they had previously possessed the privilege of an independent chief magistrate? *

without the consent or approbation of the senate, they considered it as an intolerable insult. Hence arose strong suspicions against him, and Romulus soon afterward unaccountably disappeared. This happened on the 7th of July, as it is now called, then Quintilis: and we have no certainty of any thing about it, but the time; various ceremonies, with reference to the event, being still performed upon that day⁹⁷. Neither ought we to be surprised at this uncertainty; since, when Scipio Africanus was found dead in his house after supper⁹⁸, there was no clear proof of the manner of his death: for some say, that being naturally infirm he died suddenly; others, that he took poison; and others, that his enemies broke into his house by night, and strangled him. Besides, all were admitted to see Scipio's dead body, and every one from the sight of it formed his own suspicion or opinion of the cause. But as Romulus vanished on a sudden, and no part of his body or even his garments could be found, some conjectured that the senators, who were convened in the temple of Vulcan, assaulted and killed him; after which, each carried away a part of the corpse under his gown. Others affirm, that his disappearance did not happen in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the senators alone; but while he was holding an assembly of the people without the city, at a place called the Goat's-Marsh. The air upon that occasion was suddenly convulsed, and wonderfully altered; for the light of the sun failed⁹⁹,

⁹⁷ As the *populifugium*, the *nonæ caprolinæ*, and the *festum ancillarum*.*

⁹⁸ This was Scipio, the son of Paulus Æmilius, adopted by Scipio Africanus. As he constantly opposed the designs of the Gracchi, it was supposed that his wife Sempronius, the sister of those seditious men, took him off by poison. According to Valerius Maximus, no judicial inquiry was made into the cause of his death; and Victor (58.) tells us, the corpse was carried out with the face covered by a linen cloth, lest the blackness of it should appear. See also Vell. Patere. ii. 4.

⁹⁹ Cicero mentions this remarkable darkness, in a fragment of his

and they were involved in an astonishing darkness, attended upon every side with dreadful thunderings, and violent hurricanes. The multitude then dispersed and fled, but the nobility gathered into one body. When the tempest was over, and the light re-appeared, the people returned to the same place, and an anxious inquiry was made for the king: but the patricians without suffering them to examine closely into the matter, commanded them to honour and worship Romulus, who had been caught up into heaven; and who, as he had been their gracious king, would become thenceforward their propitious deity. Upon this, the multitude went away with great satisfaction, and worshipped him in hopes of his favour and protection. Some however, searching more minutely into the affair, gave the patricians no small uneasiness; they even accused them of having imposed upon the people a ridiculous tale, after they had murdered the king with their own hands.

While things were in this disorder, a senator (we are told) of high distinction and famed for sanctity of manners, Julius Proculus by name¹⁰⁰, who came from Alba with Romulus and had been his faithful friend¹⁰¹, went into the Forum; and declared with the most solemn oaths before all the people that, as he was travelling on the road, Romulus met him in a form more noble and august than ever, and clad in bright and dazzling armour. Astonished at the sight, he said to him; "For what misbehaviour of

sixth book *de Repub.* And it appears, from the astronomical tables, that there was a great eclipse of the sun Ol. xvi. 1., supposed to be the year of Romulus' death, on the 26th of May; which considering the little exactness there was at that time in the Roman calendar, might very well coincide with the month of July. (L.) Or the Romans were perhaps but little more enlightened on the subject of his death, than on that of his birth.*

¹⁰⁰ A descendent of Iulus or Ascanius.

¹⁰¹ Hence most probably selected by the senators, to report their fabricated revelation. Upon this passage, as supplying a parallel to the canonisations of modern Rome (which is allowed, however, in the single art of inventing miracles to excel the ancient), see Middleton's Letter, Pref. Disc. lxvii.*

“our’s, O king, or by what accident, have you so unseasonably left us to labour under the heaviest calumnies, and the whole city to sink under inexpressible sorrow?” To which he replied, “It pleased the gods, my good Proculus, that we should dwell with men for a time; and after having founded a city which will be the most powerful and glorious in the world, return to heaven whence we came. Farewel then, and go tell the Romans that, by the exercise of temperance and fortitude, they shall attain the highest pitch of human greatness; and I, the god Quirinus, will ever be propitious to you.” This from the character and oath of the narrator gained credit with the Romans, who were caught with a kind of enthusiasm, as if they had been actually inspired; and far from contradicting what they had heard, bade adieu to all their suspicions of the nobility, united in the deifying of Quirinus, and addressed to him their devotions. This is very like the Grecian fables concerning Aristeas the Proconnesian, and Cleomedes the Astypalensian. For Aristeas, we are told, expired in a fuller’s shop; and, when his friends came to take away the body, it could no where be found. Soon afterward some persons, coming in from a journey, said they had met Aristeas travelling toward Croton¹⁰². As for Cleomedes, their account of him is, that he was a man of gigantic size and strength; but, behaving in a foolish and frantic manner, was guilty of many acts of violence. At last he went into a school, where he struck the pillar which supported the roof with his fist, and broke it asunder, so that the roof fell in and destroyed the children¹⁰³. Pursued for this, he took

¹⁰² For a more detailed account of this puerile fable, see Herodot. iv. 13—15.*

¹⁰³ This phrensy, according to Pausanias (vi. 9.), was occasioned by his having been refused the prize, after a successful wrestling-match with one Iccus of Epidaurus: and for the heroic achievement, which it inspired, he was to be worshipped as a god! Astypalæa was one of the Cyclades, near Crete.*

refuge in a large chest ; and having shut the lid upon him, he held it down so fast, that many men together were unable to force it open : and when they had cut the chest in pieces, they could not find him either dead or alive. Struck with this strange affair, they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and received from the priestess this answer,

The race of heroes ends in Cleomedes.

It is likewise said, that the body of Alcmena was lost, as they were carrying it to the grave, and a stone was seen lying on the bier in its stead. Many such improbable tales are told by writers, who wished to deify beings naturally mortal. It is indeed impious and illiberal, to leave nothing of divinity to virtue : but, at the same time, to unite heaven and earth in the same subject is absurd. We should therefore reject fables, when we are possessed of undeniable truth ; for, according to Pindar,

The body yields to death's supreme decree ;
But the bright image of eternity
Survives.

This alone is from the gods : from heaven it comes, and to heaven it returns, not indeed with the body ; but after it is entirely set free and separated from the body, and disengaged from every thing sensual and unholy. For in the language of Heraclitus, the pure soul is of superior excellence¹⁰⁴, darting from the body like a flash of lightning from a cloud ; but

¹⁰⁴ This is a very difficult passage. The former translator, with an unjustifiable liberty, has turned *αὐτὴ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἕρως ἀμικτὴ*, 'A virtuous soul is pure and unmixed light ;' which, however excellent the sentiment (as borrowed from the Scripture, where he had found that 'God is light') is by no means the sense of the original. Dacier has translated it literally *l'ame seche*, and remarks the propriety of the expression, with respect to that position of Heraclitus, that fire is the first principle of all things. The French critic went upon the supposed analogy between fire and dryness : but there is a much more natural and more obvious analogy, which may help us to the interpretation of this passage, that is, the near relation which dryness has to purity or cleanliness ; we find indeed the word *ἕρως* used metaphorically in the latter sense, *ἕρως τέρειος*.

the soul that is carnal and immersed in sense ¹⁰⁵, like a heavy and dank vapour, with difficulty kindles and expires. There is therefore no occasion, against nature, to send the bodies of good men to heaven; but we are to conclude that virtuous souls, by nature and the divine justice, rise from men to heroes, from heroes to genii; and at last, if (as in the Mysteries) they be perfectly cleansed and purified, shaking off all remains of mortality and all the power of the passions, finally attain the most glorious and perfect happiness; and ascend from genii to gods, not by the vote of the people, but by the just and established order of nature ¹⁰⁵.

The surname, which Romulus had of Quirinus, some think was given him, as [another] Mars; others, because they call the Roman citizens Quirites; others again, because the ancients gave the

¹⁰⁵ Milton, in his *Comus*, uses the same comparison:

—————The lavish act of sin
 Lets in defilement to the inward parts.
 The soul grows clotted by contagion,
 Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
 The divine property of her first being.
 Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
 Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres,
 Linging and sitting by a new-made grave,
 As loth to leave the body that it loved,
 And link'd itself by carnal sensuality
 To a degenerate and degraded state.

(vv. 465—475.) (L.)

The same idea may be traced P. L. vi. 660., ix. 165. Nor need we be surprised at its recurrence: for, as Warton remarks (*in loc*) the notion is to be found much expanded in the *Phædon* of Plato; and Henry More the Platonist, who was Milton's contemporary in Christ's College, might have given his mind an early bias to the study of that great master. 'This poetical philosophy (says Bishop Hurd) nourished the fine spirits of Milton's time, though it corrupted some.*'

¹⁰⁶ Hesiod was the first, who distinguished these four natures, men, heroes, genii, and gods. He saw room, it seems, for perpetual progression and improvement in a state of immortality. And when the heathens tell us that, before the last degree (that of divinity) is reached, those beings are liable to be replunged into their primitive state of darkness, one would imagine they had heard something of the fallen angels.

name of Quiris to the point of a spear, or to the spear itself; and that of Juno Quiritis to the statues of Juno, in which she was represented leaning on a spear. They likewise stiled a certain spear, which was consecrated in the palace, Mars; and those, who distinguished themselves in battle, were rewarded with a spear. Romulus then, as a martial or warrior-god, was named Quirinus; and the hill, upon which his temple stands, has on this account the name of Quirinalis. The day of his disappearance is called "The flight of the people," and *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, because then they go out of the city to offer sacrifice at the Goat's-Marsh. Upon this occasion they pronounce aloud some of their proper names, Marcus and Caius for instance, representing the flight which then happened, and their calling to one another amidst the general terror and confusion. Others, however, are of opinion that this is not a representation of flight, but of haste and eagerness, deriving the ceremony from the following source: When the Gauls, after the taking of Rome, were driven out by Camillus, and the city thus weakened did not easily recover itself, many of the Latins under the conduct of Livius Posthumius marched against it. This army sitting down before Rome, a herald was sent to signify that the Latins were desirous of renewing their old alliance and affinity, which was now declining, by new intermarriages. If therefore they would send them a number of their virgins and widows, peace and friendship should be established between them, as before with the Sabines upon the like occasion. When the Romans heard this, though they would have willingly avoided the war, they yet considered the giving up of their women as not at all more eligible than captivity. While they were still in suspense, a servant-maid named Philotis (or, according to others, Tutola) advised them to do neither; but by a stratagem, which she had concerted, to avoid both the war and the giving of hostages. The stratagem was, to dress Philotis herself and

other handsome female slaves in good attire, and send them instead of free-born virgins to the enemy. After which, Philotis in the night-time was to light a torch, as a signal for the Romans to attack the enemy, and despatch them in their sleep. The Latins were satisfied, and the scheme was carried into effect. For Philotis set up a torch on a wild fig-tree, screening it behind with curtains and cover-lets from the sight of the enemy, while it was visible to the Romans. As soon as they beheld it, they set out in great haste, often calling to each other at the gates to be expeditious; and falling upon the Latins, who expected nothing less, cut them in pieces. Hence this feast, in memory of the victory. The day was called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, on account of the 'wild fig-tree,' in the Roman tongue *caprificus*. The women are entertained in the fields, in booths made of the branches of the fig-tree; and the servant-maids, in companies, run about and play: they afterward come to blows, and throw stones at one another, in remembrance of their having then aided and assisted the Romans in the battle. These particulars are admitted but by few historians. Their calling upon each other's names in the day-time indeed, and their walking in procession to the Goat's-Marsh¹⁰⁷, like persons that were going to a sacrifice, seem rather referable to the former account: though possibly both these events might happen, in distant periods, upon the same day¹⁰⁸. Romulus is said to

¹⁰⁷ Instead of ὡς ἐπὶ θαλατταν (the reading in Bryan's text) which has no tolerable sense, an anonymous copy gives us ὡς πρὶ ἀλαλαζίν. And that 'to sacrifice,' or rather 'to offer up prayers at a sacrifice,' is one sense of ἀλαλαζίν, appears from the scholiast on Sophocles' Trachiniæ, where he explains ἀλαλαγαίς by ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν εὐχαίς. This signification, we suppose, it gained from the loud accent, in which those prayers were said or sung.

¹⁰⁸ A happy illustration of this conjecture occurs in Bishop Watson's *Apology for the Bible*, Lett. ii.: where, in answer to Paine's objection with regard to the double reason assigned in Scripture for hallowing the Sabbath (Exod. xx. ii., and Deut. v. 15.) he adduces with singular felicity the detection of the gunpowder-plot, and the arrival of William III., as having 'happened in distant pe-

have been fifty-four years of age, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign¹⁰⁹, when he was taken from the world.

THESEUS AND ROMULUS COMPARED.

THIS is all I have met with, that deserves to be related concerning Romulus and Theseus. To come therefore now to the comparison. First it appears, that Theseus was inclined to great enterprises of his own choice, compelled by no necessity; since he might have reigned in peace at Trœzene, over a kingdom by no means contemptible, which would have fallen to him by succession: Whereas Romulus, in order to avoid present slavery and impending punishment, became valiant (as Plato expresses it) through fear, and was driven by the terror of extreme sufferings to arduous attempts. Besides, the most illustrious action of Romulus was the killing of one tyrant in Alba: But the first exploits of Theseus, performed occasionally and by way only of prelude, were those of destroying Sciron, Sinnis, Procrustes, and Corynetes; by whose punishment and death he delivered Greece from several cruel tyrants, before he was even known to those, for whose preservation he was exerting himself. He might likewise have gone safely to Athens by sea, without any danger from robbers; but Romulus could have no security, as long as Amulius lived.

riods on the same day; and therefore investing it with a double sanctity, and supplying two reasons for it's annual observance.*

¹⁰⁹ Dion. Halic., and indeed Plutarch himself in the beginning of the Life of Numa, says that Romulus left the world in the thirty-seventh year after the foundation of Rome. But perhaps those two historians may be reconciled, as to the age at which he died. For Plutarch states, that he was then full fifty-four years of age, and Dionysius that he was in his fifty-fifth year.

This difference then is evident: Theseus, when unoppressed himself, went forth to rescue others from their oppressors. On the other hand, Romulus and his brother, so long as they themselves remained uninjured by the tyrant, quietly suffered him to exercise his cruelties. And, if it was a great thing for Romulus to be wounded in the battle with the Sabines, to kill Acron and to conquer many other enemies, we may set against these distinctions the battle with the Centaurs and the war with the Amazons.

But as to Theseus' enterprise with respect to the Cretan tribute, when he voluntarily offered to go among the young men and virgins, whether he might have expected to become food for some wild beast, or to be sacrificed at Androgeus' tomb, or (which was the lightest of all the rumoured evils) to submit to a vile and dishonourable slavery, it is not easy to express his courage and magnanimity, his regard for justice and the public good, and his love of glory and virtue. Upon this occasion, it appears to me, that the philosophers have not ill defined Love to be 'a remedy, provided by the gods for the safety and preservation of youth'.¹ For Ariadne's love seems to have been the work of some god, who designed thus to preserve this eminent man. Neither should we blame her for her passion, but rather wonder that all were not alike affected toward it's object. And, if she alone was sensible of that tenderness, I may justly pronounce her worthy the love of a god², as she shewed so high a regard for virtue and excellence in her attachment to so great a man.

Both Theseus and Romulus were born with political talents: yet neither of them preserved the

¹ See Plat. *Conviv.*

² Plutarch here enters into the notion of Socrates, who teaches that it is the love of virtue and real excellence, which alone can unite us to the Supreme Being. But, though this maxim is good, it is not applicable to Ariadne. For where is the virtue of that princess, who fell in love with a stranger at first sight, and hastened to the completion of her wishes through the ruin of her kindred and of her country?

proper character of a king, but deviated from the due medium; erring, according to their different tempers, the one on the side of democracy, the other on that of absolute power. For a prince's first concern is, to preserve the government itself, and this is effected, not less by avoiding what is improper, than by cultivating what is suitable to his dignity. He, who relaxes or stretches his authority, continues not a prince or a king, but degenerates into a republican or a tyrant, and thus incurs either the contempt or the hatred of his subjects. The former seems to be the error of mildness and humanity of disposition, the latter of selfishness and severity.

If then the calamities of mankind are not to be entirely attributed to fortune, but we are to seek the cause of them in their different manners and passions, here we shall find that unreasonable anger, with quick and unadvised resentment, is to be imputed both to Romulus in the case of his brother, and to Theseus in that of his son. But if we consider whence their anger took it's rise, the latter seems the more excusable, from the greater cause which he had for resentment, as yielding to the heavier blow. For, as the dispute began when Romulus was in cool consultation for the common good³, one would think he could not suddenly have given way to such a passion: Whereas Theseus was urged against his son, by emotions which few men have been able to withstand, proceeding from love, jealousy, and the false suggestions of his wife⁴.

³ Plutarch does not seem to have had a just idea of the contest between Romulus and Remus. The two brothers were not so solicitous about the situation of their new city, as which of them should have the command in it, when it was built. (L.) Besides, an insult (and that too of evil augury for the rising walls) had been offered by Remus, in contemptuously leaping over the *fosse*.*

⁴ Of these calumnies Plutarch makes no mention, in his Life of Theseus; the calamities to which they gave birth being too notorious, as subjects of tragedy, to require more particular specification. Or may we here trace the national partiality, so generally ascribed to the Grecian biographer?*

What is more, the anger of Romulus discharged itself in an action of most unfortunate consequence; but that of Theseus proceeded no farther than words, reproaches, and imprecations, the usual revenge of old men. The rest of the young man's misery seems to have been owing to fortune. Thus far, then, Theseus appears to deserve the preference.

But Romulus has, in the first place, this eminent advantage, that he rose to distinction from very small beginnings. For the two brothers were reputed slaves, and sons of herdsmen; and yet, before they attained to liberty themselves, they bestowed it upon almost all the Latins; gaining at once the most glorious titles, as destroyers of their enemies, deliverers of their kindred, kings of nations, and founders of cities: not transplanters, like Theseus, who filled indeed one city with people, but did it by ruining many others, which bore the names of ancient kings and heroes. And Romulus subsequently effected the same, when he compelled his enemies to demolish their habitations, and incorporate with their conquerors. He had not however a city ready built to enlarge, or to fill with inhabitants from other towns; but he created one, gaining to himself lands, a country, a kingdom, children, wives, alliances; and this, without destroying or ruining any one. On the contrary, he was a great benefactor to persons who, having neither house nor habitation, willingly became his citizens and people. He did not indeed, like Theseus, destroy robbers and ruffians; but he subdued nations, took cities, and triumphed over kings and generals.

As for the fate of Remus, it is doubtful by what hand he fell; most writers ascribing it to others, and not to Romulus. But he confessedly saved his mother from destruction; and placed his grandfather, who was living in mean and dishonourable subjection, upon the throne of Æneas: He likewise

voluntarily did him many kind offices, and never even inadvertently offered him any injury. On the other hand Theseus I think, in forgetting or neglecting the command about the sail, can scarcely by any excuses, or before the mildest judges, avoid the imputation of parricide. Sensible how difficult the defence of this affair would be to those who should attempt it, a certain Athenian writer feigns that, when the ship approached, Ægeus ran in great haste to the citadel for the better view of it, and missing his step fell down ; as if he were destitute of servants, or went (in whatever hurry) unattended to the sea.

Moreover, Theseus' rapes, and offences with respect to women, admit of no plausible excuse : because, in the first place, they were frequent—for he carried off Ariadne, Antiope, and Anaxo the Trœzenian, and, after the rest, Helen ; though she was a girl not yet come to maturity, and he so far advanced in years, that it was time for him to think no more even of lawful marriage. The next aggravation is, the cause ; for the daughters of the Trœzenians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Amazons were in no respect more suitable for child-bearing, than those of the Athenians sprung from Erechtheus and Cecrops. These things, therefore, expose him to the suspicion of a wanton and licentious appetite. On the other hand Romulus, having carried off at once almost eight hundred women, did not take them all, but only Ersilia (as it is said) for himself, and distributed the rest among the most respectable citizens. And afterward, by the honourable and affectionate treatment which he procured them, he turned that injury and violence into a glorious exploit, performed with a political view to the good of society. Thus he united and cemented the two nations together, and opened a source of future kindness and of additional power. Time bears witness to the conjugal modesty, tenderness, and fidelity, which he established ; for during two hundred and thirty years no man

attempted to leave his wife, nor any woman her husband⁵. And, as the very curious among the Greeks can tell you, who was the first person that killed his father and mother, so all the Romans know that Spurius Carvilius was the first who divorced his wife, alleging her barrenness⁶. The immediate effects, as well as length of time, attest what I have said. For by means of these alliances, the two kings shared the kingdom, and the two nations came under the same government. But the marriages of Theseus procured the Athenians no friendship with any other state: on the contrary, they generated enmity, wars, the destruction of their citizens, and at last the loss of Aphidnæ; which merely through the compassion of the enemy⁷, whom the inhabitants supplicated and honoured like gods, escaped the fate that befel Troy on account of Paris. The mother of Theseus however, deserted and given up by her son, not only risked, but actually suffered, the misfortunes of Hecuba, if her captivity indeed be not a fiction, as much besides may very well be. As to the stories, which we have concerning both, of a supernatural kind, the difference is great. For Romulus was preserved by the signal favour of heaven; but as the oracle, which commanded Ægeus not to approach any woman in a foreign country, was neglected, the birth of Theseus appears to have been unacceptable to the gods.

⁵ Dion. Halic. (ii. 8.) with greater exactness acquaints us, that it was A. U. C. 520, in the consulate of M. Pomponius Matho and C. Papirius Masso.

⁶ Carvilius made oath before the censors, that he had the highest regard for his wife; and that it was solely in compliance with the sacred engagement of marriage, the design of which was to have children, that he divorced her. But this did not prevent his character from being ever afterward odious to the people, who thought he had set a most pernicious example. (Aul. Gell. iv. 3., and xvii. 21.) See not. (79.)

⁷ Castor and Pollux.

THE
LIFE
OF
LYCURGUS:

SUMMARY.

Different opinions about the age of Lycurgus. His origin. He becomes king of Sparta, and afterward guardian to the king his nephew. His travels: and return to Sparta. He consults the Delphic oracle. His laws, and senate. Respective rights of the people and kings in their assemblies. Authority of the Ephori. Division of the territory. Substitution of iron currency to that of gold and silver. The useless arts banished from Sparta. Public repasts established. Insurrection of the rich citizens. Alcander thrusts out one of his eyes. The regulations of the public repasts. Their use. Black broth. No written laws. Regulations about building; and military affairs. Marriages; and education of daughters. Encouragements of marriage, and laws on the subject. Community of women. Education of infants: of boys of seven, and of twelve years of age. Theft permitted. Mode of cultivating the judgement of infants. Short and lively repartees of the Spartans. Music and songs. Military dress. March to battle. Lycurgus' war-talents. The mechanic arts resigned to the Helots. No law-suits at Sparta. Perpetual festivals. The god of laughter. Laws regulating the election of senators: funerals, and mourning: travels, and foreigners. Reflexions. Lycurgus exacts an oath of the citizens, that they will observe his ordinances; and sets out for Delphi. His code subsists five centuries. Epoch and cause of it's decay. It's advantages. Lycurgus, after his death, receives divine honours.

OF Lycurgus the lawgiver we have nothing to relate, that is certain and uncontroverted. For there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and especially of the laws and form of government which he established. But least of all are the times agreed upon, in which this great man lived. For some say he flourished at the same period with Iphitus², and joined with him in settling the cessation of arms³ during the Olympic games. Among

¹ The Life of Lycurgus was written before that of Theseus, as Plutarch himself observes in his Life of the latter. He seems, like Xenophon, to have had a strong attachment to the Spartans and their customs. For beside this Life, and those of several other Spartan chiefs, we have a Treatise of his on the Laws and Customs of the Lacedæmonians, and another of Laconic Apophthegms. He makes Lycurgus in all things a perfect hero, and adduces his behaviour as a proof that the wise man, so often described by the philosophers, was not a merely ideal character unattainable by human nature. It is certain, however, that the encomiums bestowed upon him, and his laws by the Delphic oracle, were merely a contrivance between the Pythoness and himself; and some of his regulations, (for instance, that concerning the women) highly exceptionable.

² Iphitus king of Elis is said to have instituted, or rather restored, the Olympic games, 108 years before what is commonly reckoned the first Olympiad, which commenced B. C. 776 and bore the name of Coræbus, as the following Olympiads did those of other victors.

Iphitus began with offering a sacrifice to Hercules, whom the Eleans believed to have been upon some account exasperated against them. He next ordered the Olympic games, the discontinuance of which was said to have caused a pestilence, to be proclaimed throughout Greece with a promise of free admission to all comers, and fixed the time for their celebration. He, likewise, took upon himself to be sole president and judge of those games; a privilege which the inhabitants of Pisa had often disputed with his predecessors, and which continued to his descendents, as long as the regal dignity subsisted. After this the people appointed two presidents, which in time increased to ten, and at length to twelve.

³ During the celebration of the Olympic (as well as of the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean) games, there was always a general armistice throughout Greece, in consequence of a solemn decree issued for that purpose. (Pausan. v. 20.) If any troops entered Elis after this proclamation, they incurred a fine of two minæ per soldier. (Thucyd. v. 49.)*

these is Aristotle the philosopher, who refers for proof to an Olympic quoit, upon which was preserved the inscription of Lycurgus' name. But others who, with Eratosthenes and Apollodorus⁴, compute the time by the successions of the Spartan kings⁵, place him much earlier than the first Olympiad. Timæus however supposes that, as there were two Lycurguses in Sparta at different times, the actions of both are ascribed to one on account of his particular renown, and that the more ancient of them lived not long after Homer: nay, some say that he had seen him. Xenophon likewise confirms the opinion of his antiquity, when he makes him contemporary with the Heraclidæ. It is true, the latest of the Lacedæmonian kings were of the lineage of the Heraclidæ; but Xenophon there seems to speak of the first and more immediate descendents of Hercules⁶. As the history of those times is thus involved, we shall endeavour, in relating the circumstances of Lycurgus' life, to select such as are least controverted, and follow authors of the greatest credit.

Simonides the poet informs us that Prytanis, not Eunomus, was the father of Lycurgus. But most writers give us the genealogy of Lycurgus and Eunomus in a different manner; for, according to them, Soüs was the son of Patrocles, and grandson of Aris-

⁴ Eratosthenes (for his learning denominated 'the second Plato') an eminent historian, poet, and philosopher, flourished under Ptolemy Philopator; by whose father, Ptolemy Euergetes, he had been invited from Athens, to superintend the celebrated Alexandrian library. His contemporary, Apollodorus, wrote a work (still extant) upon Mythology, containing an abridgement of the history of the gods and heroes of antiquity: beside some other volumes, now lost.*

⁵ Strabo says, that Lycurgus the lawgiver certainly lived in the fifth generation after Althemenes, who led a colony into Crete. This Althemenes was the son of Cissus, who founded Argos at the same time that Patrocles, Lycurgus' ancestor in the fifth degree, laid the foundation of Sparta. So that Lycurgus flourished, a short time after Solomon, about B. C. 900.

⁶ This passage is in Xenophon's excellent Treatise on the Republic of Sparta, from which Plutarch has taken the chief part of this Life.

tothemus; Eurytion the son of Soüs, Prytanis of Eurytion, and Eunomus of Prytanis; to Eunomus was born Polydectes by a former wife, and by a second named Dianassa, Lycurgus. Eutychidas, however, says Lycurgus was the sixth from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules. The most distinguished of his ancestors was Soüs, under whom the Lacedæmonians made the Helots their slaves⁷, and gained an extensive tract of land from the Arcadians. Of this Soüs it is related that, being besieged by the Clitorians⁸ in a difficult post where there was no water, he agreed to give up all his conquests, if he and his army might drink of the neighbouring spring. When these conditions were ratified, he assembled his forces, and offered his kingdom to the man that would forbear drinking; not one of them, however, could deny himself, but they all drank. Then Soüs himself went down to the spring, and having only sprinkled his face in sight of the enemy marched off, and still held the country, because all had not drank. Yet, though he was highly honoured for this action, the family had not their name from him, but were called after his son Eurytionidæ⁹:

⁷ The Helots were inhabitants of Helos, a maritime town of Laconia. The Lacedæmonians, having conquered and made slaves of them, called not only them, but all their other slaves Helots. It is certain, however, that the descendents of the original Helots, though they were extremely ill-treated and some of them assassinated, subsisted many ages in Laconia.

⁸ A people of Arcadia, so named from their metropolis, which was denominated after one of their kings. Near this city was a fountain, the water of which excited the greatest disgust for wine. (Ov. Met. xv. 322.)*

⁹ It may be proper here to give the reader a short view of the regal government of Lacedæmon, under the Herculean line. The Heraclidæ having driven out Tisamenes the son of Orestes, Eurysthenes and Procles (Patrocles, or Protocles) the sons of Aristodemus, reigned in that kingdom. Under them the government took a new form, and instead of one sovereign became subject to two. These two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, neither did they agree to reign alternately; but governed jointly, and with equal authority. What is surprising is that, notwithstanding their mutual jealousy, this diarchy did not end with these

and this, because Eurytion seems to have been the first who relaxed the strictness of kingly government, inclining to the interest of the people, and insinuating himself into their favour. Hence their encroachments increased, and the succeeding kings either becoming odious from treating them with greater rigour, or else giving way through weakness or in hopes of popularity, for a long time anarchy and confusion prevailed in Sparta; by which one of its kings, the father of Lycurgus, lost his life. For, while he was endeavouring to part some persons concerned in a fray, he received a wound by a kitchen-knife of which he died, leaving the kingdom to his eldest son Polydectes.

But he too dying soon afterward, the general voice called Lycurgus to ascend the throne; and he actually did so, till it appeared that his brother's widow was pregnant. As soon as he perceived this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her issue, provided it were male; and retained the administration only as his guardian, with the title of 'Prodicos,' which the Lacedæmonians gave to the guardians of infant-kings. Within a little time the queen made him a private overture, that she would destroy her child upon condition that he would marry her, when king of Sparta. Though he detested her wickedness, he said nothing against the proposal; but pretending to approve it, charged her not to use any drugs to procure an abortion, lest she should endanger her own health or life; for he would take care that the child, as soon as born, should be destroyed. Thus artfully drawing on the woman to her full time; when he heard that she was in labour, he sent persons to attend and watch her delivery; with orders, if it were a girl, to

two brothers, but continued under a succession of thirty princes of the line of Eurysthene, and twenty-seven of that of Procles. Eurysthene was succeeded by his son Agis, from whom all the descendants of that line were surnamed Agidæ, as the other line took the name of Eurytionidæ from Eurytion, the grandson of Procles. (Pausan., Strab., *et al.*)

give it to the women, but if a boy to bring it to him, in whatever business he might be engaged. It happened that he was at supper with the magistrates, when she was delivered of a boy, and his servants who were present carried him the child. When he received it, he is reported to have said to the company, "Spartans, see here your new-born king." He then laid him down upon the chair of state, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy (*chara*) and admiration of his magnanimity and justice, testified by all present. Thus the reign of Lycurgus lasted only eight months. But the citizens had a high veneration for him upon other accounts, and there were more that paid him attention, and were ready to execute his commands, out of regard to his virtues, than that obeyed him as a guardian to the king and director of the administration. There were not wanting however, those that envied him, and opposed his advancement as too high for so young a man; particularly, the relations and friends of the queen-mother, who seemed to have been treated with contempt. Her brother Leonidas one day boldly attacked him with virulent language, and scrupled not to tell him, that he was well assured he would soon mount the throne; thus preparing suspicions and matter of accusation against Lycurgus, in case any accident should befall the king. Insinuations of the same kind were likewise spread by the queen-mother herself. Moved with this ill treatment, and fearing some dark design, he determined to avoid suspicion by travelling into other countries, till his nephew should be grown up and have a son to succeed him in the kingdom.

He set sail, therefore, and landed in Crete. There having observed the forms of government, and conversed with the most illustrious personages, he was struck with admiration of some of their laws¹⁰, and

¹⁰ The most ancient writers (as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Aristotle, and Plato) are of opinion, that Lycurgus adopted many things from the Cretan polity. But Polybius (vi.) will have it, that they are all

resolved on his return to introduce them into Sparta. Some others he rejected. Among the friends he gained in Crete was Thales¹¹; whom he had interest enough to persuade to go and settle at Sparta. Thales was famed for his wisdom and political abilities: he was withal a lyric poet who, under colour of exercising his art, performed things as surprising as the most excellent lawgivers. For his odes were so many persuasives to obedience and unanimity; as by means of melody and numbers they had great grace and power, softened insensibly the manners of the audience, drew them off from the animosities which then prevailed, and united them in zeal for excellence and virtue. So that he, in some measure, prepared the way for Lycurgus toward the instruction of the Spartans. From Crete Lycurgus passed to Asia, desirous (as it is said) of comparing the Ionian¹² expense and luxury with the Cretan frugality and hard diet, so as to judge what effect each produced on their several manners and governments; just as physicians compare bodies, that are weak and sickly, with the healthy and robust. There also,

mistaken: 'At Sparta,' says he, 'the lands are equally divided among all the citizens, wealth is banished, the crown is hereditary; whereas in Crete the contrary obtains.' But this does not prove, that Lycurgus might not take some good laws and usages from Crete, and omit what he thought defective. There is, indeed, so great a conformity between the laws of Lycurgus and those of Minos, that we must with Strabo (xvi.) believe the one the foundation of the other.

¹¹ This Thales, who was a poet and musician, must be distinguished from Thales the Milesian, who was one of the seven wise men of Greece. The poet lived 250 years before the philosopher. (L.) The compliment here paid to the lyre ought not, in these times of 'sweet sounds,' to escape our notice. 'Often' (says Plato, as quoted by Plutarch) the soul, withdrawn from the influence of the Muses and the Graces, sinks into disorder, loses it's moral harmony, and requires the aid of music to attune it's jarring strings.*

¹² The Ionians sent a colony from Attica into a part of Asia Minor between Lydia and Caria, about B. C. 1050, and 150 years before Lycurgus. And, though they might not be greatly degenerated in so short a time, yet our lawgiver would be able to judge

probably¹³, he first met with Homer's poems, which were preserved by the posterity of Cleophylus. Observing that many moral sentences and much political knowledge were intermixed with his stories, which had an irresistible charm¹⁴, he collected them into one body, and transcribed them with pleasure, in order to take them home with him. For this noble poetry was not yet fully known in Greece; some particular pieces only being in a few hands, as they happened to be dispersed. Lycurgus was the first who made them generally known. The Egyptians likewise suppose, that he visited their country; and that of all their institutions being most pleased with their distinguishing the military men from the rest of the people¹⁵, he adopted the same method at Sparta; and, by separating from these the mechanics and artificers, dignified the constitution, and rendered it more of a piece. This assertion of the Egyptians is

of the effect, which the climate and plenty of Asia had produced. They, afterward, became proverbial for their effeminacy.

¹³ He adds 'probably' (ὡς εἰκάζει) because some Greek authors have affirmed that Lycurgus saw Homer himself, who was at that time at Chios. But Plutarch's opinion is more to be relied upon. Homer died before Lycurgus was born. Before the time of Lycurgus, they had nothing of Homer in Greece, except some detached pieces: which were severally named, from their respective subjects, 'The Valour of Diomedes,' 'Hector's Ransom,' and the like. (L.) So the Romans, previously to the death of Virgil, had only separate portions of the *Æneid*; 'The Eloge on Marcellus,' 'the Passion and Death of Dido,' 'the Descent into the Shades,' &c. But this in no degree affects the integrity of those illustrious poems in their present arrangement.*

¹⁴ Plato's judgement upon this subject was so different from that of Lycurgus that, when he excludes poets from his republic, he makes no exception in favour even of Homer himself; whom on account principally of his misrepresentation of the gods, he regards as a writer pernicious to youth. In this hostility, however, he stands nearly single; for the mere Zeñl of antiquity deserve not to be mentioned: and the reader will easily recollect the high testimony of Alexander the Great, among those of others, in his behalf. Horace indeed (Ep. I. ii. 3, 4.) asserts his superiority, as an ethical writer, to the most eminent teachers of the Academy and the Porch.*

¹⁵ The ancient Egyptians kept not only the priests and military men, who consisted chiefly of the nobility, distinct from the rest of the people; but the other employments, viz: those of herdsmen,

confirmed by some of the Greek writers. But we know of no one except Aristocrates, the son of Hipparchus and a Spartan, who has affirmed that he went to Lybia and Spain, and in his Indian excursions conversed with the Gymnosophists¹⁶.

The Lacedæmonians found their need of Lycurgus when absent, and sent many embassies to entreat him to return. For they perceived that their kings had barely the title and outward appendages of royalty, but in nothing else differed from the multitude; whereas Lycurgus had a natural ability to guide the measures of government, and powers of persuasion which won the human heart. The kings, however, were consulted about his return, and they hoped that in his presence they should experience less insolence among the people. Returning then to a city thus disposed, he immediately applied himself to alter the whole frame of the constitution: sensible that a par-

shepherds, merchants, interpreters, and seamen, descended in particular tribes or Castes from father to son. (L.) The above institution however, according to Herodot. (ii. 168.), might have been derived by Lycurgus from a source nearer home, as it prevailed among the Thracians, Seythians, &c.*

¹⁶ Indian priests and philosophers, who went almost naked and lived in woods. The Brachmans were one of their sects. They had a great dislike to idleness. Apuleius informs us, that their pupils were obliged to give account every day of some good which they had done, either by meditation or in action, before they were admitted to sit down to dinner. So thoroughly were they persuaded of the transmigration of the soul, and of a happy one for themselves, that they used to commit themselves to the flames, when they had lived to satiety or were apprehensive of any misfortune. We are afraid however that it was vanity, which induced one of them to burn himself before Alexander the Great, and another to do the same before Augustus Cæsar. (L.)

Whether Lycurgus did or not visit India, is a point in dispute between the French translators, MM. Dacier and Ricard: the first being disposed to claim for Alexander the Great the honour of having opened to the ancients the way into the East; though he elsewhere seems to admit that Pythagoras, who preceded 'Macedonia's madman' by more than three centuries, had travelled thither—and M. Ricard conceiving that the honour of Alexander is sufficiently consulted by allowing him to have been the first, who led an army into that remote part of the world.*

tial change, and the introducing of some new laws, would be of little advantage; and that, as in the case of a body diseased and full of bad humours, whose temperament is to be corrected and regenerated by medicines, it was necessary to begin a new regimen. With these sentiments, he went to Delphi; and when he had offered sacrifice and consulted the god¹⁷, he returned with that celebrated oracle, in which the priestess called him, "Beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man." As to his request, that he might enact good laws, she told him; "Apollo had heard his prayer, and promised that the constitution, which he was about to establish, should be the most excellent in the world." Thus encouraged, he applied to the nobility, and desired them to put their hands to the work; addressing himself at first privately to his friends, and afterward by degrees trying the disposition of others, and preparing them to concur in the business. When matters were ripe, he ordered thirty of the principal citizens to appear armed in the market-place by break of day, to strike terror into such as might be inclined to oppose him. Hermippus has preserved the names of twenty of the most eminent of them, but he who had the greatest share in the whole enterprise, and gave Lycurgus the most effectual assistance in the establishing of his laws, was called Arithmiades. Upon the first alarm king Charilaus, apprehending it to be a design against his person, took refuge in the Chal-

¹⁷ As Minos had persuaded the Cretans that his laws were delivered to him from Jupiter, so Lycurgus, his imitator, was willing to make the Spartans believe that he did every thing by the direction of Apollo. Other legislators have found it very convenient to propagate an opinion, that their institutions were from the gods. For that self-love in human nature, which would but ill have tolerated the superiority of genius implied in an unassisted lawgiver, found an ease and satisfaction in admitting his new regulations, when they were said to come from heaven. (L.) It not only secured the prejudices of the people indeed, but strengthened the sanctions of the laws themselves, by calling in the aid of conscience, to ratify the external principles of obedience.*

cicecos¹⁸. But he was soon satisfied, and accepted of their oath. Nay, far from being obstinate, he joined in the undertaking. He was indeed so remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition, that Archelaus, his partner in the throne, is reported to have said to some who were praising the young king; "Yes, Charilaus is a good man to be sure, for "he cannot find in his heart to punish the guilty." Among the many new institutions of Lycurgus, the first and most important was that of a Senate; which sharing (as Plato says¹⁹) in the power of the kings, before too imperious and unrestrained, and having equal authority with them, was the means of keeping

¹⁸ That is, 'the brasen temple.' It was standing in the time of Pausanias, who was contemporary with Marcus Antoninus.

¹⁹ The passage to which Plutarch refers, is in Plato's third book of Laws, where he is examining the causes of the downfall of states. An Athenian is introduced, saying to a Lacedæmonian; 'Some god, I believe, in his care for your state and in his foresight of what would happen, has given you two kings of the same family; in order that, reigning jointly, they might govern with the more moderation, and Sparta experience the greater tranquillity. After this, when the regal authority was grown again too absolute and imperious, a divine spirit residing in a human nature (*i.e.* Lycurgus) reduced it within the bounds of equity and moderation, by the wise provision of a senate, whose authority was to be equal to that of the kings.' Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 7.) finds fault with this circumstance in the institution of the senate, that the senators were to continue for life; for, as the mind grows old with the body, he deemed it absurd to put the fortunes of the citizens into the power of men, who through age might become incapable of judging. He likewise thought it unreasonable, that they were not rendered accountable for their actions. But for the latter inconvenience sufficient provision seems to have been afterward made by the institution of the Ephori, who had it chiefly in charge to defend the rights of the people; and therefore Plato adds, 'A third blessing to Sparta was the prince who, finding the power of the senate and the kings too arbitrary and uncontrolled, contrived the authority of the Ephori as a restraint upon it,' &c. (*L.*)

The most extraordinary circumstance in this constitution was the co-existence of two kings; but after the institutions of Lycurgus had lost their primitive influence, the factions, to which this rivalry gave birth, ruined Sparta, verifying the first part of the old maxim,

Nec regna socium ferre, nec tædæ sciunt.

and yet to this division of power Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 11.) attributes the duration of that state!^{*}

them within the bounds of moderation, and highly contributed to the preservation of the state. For till that time it had been veering and unsettled, sometimes inclining to arbitrary power, and sometimes to a pure democracy; but this establishment of a senate as an intermediate body, like ballast, kept it in a just equilibrium, and placed it in a safe posture: the twenty-eight senators adhering to the kings, whenever they saw the people too encroaching; and on the other hand supporting the people, whenever the kings attempted to make themselves absolute. This, according to Aristotle, was the number of senators fixed upon, because two of the thirty associates of Lycurgus deserted the business through fear. But Sphærus informs us, there were only twenty-eight at first entrusted with the design. There is something, perhaps, in it's being formed of seven multiplied by four, and withal the first number after six, that is equal to all it's parts, or perfect²⁰. But I rather think this precise number of senators was created that, together with the two kings, the whole body might consist of thirty members.

This institution he had so much at heart, that he obtained from Delphi an oracle in it's behalf, called *Rhetra* or 'the Decree,' which was couched in very ancient and uncommon terms, and being interpreted ran thus: "When you have built a temple to the Syllanian Jupiter and the Syllanian Minerva²¹, divided the people into tribes and classes, and established a senate of thirty persons, including the two

²⁰ The doctrine of numbers was most probably unknown to Lycurgus, who was besides but little likely to found any part of his constitution upon a pun.*

²¹ As no account can be given of the meaning of the word 'Syllanian,' it is supposed it should be either read 'Sellasian,' from Sellasia, a town of Laconia upon the Eurotas or Œnus (Liv. xxxiv. 28.); or else 'Hellanian,' as much as to say, the Grecian Jupiter, &c. (L.)

This oracle, delivered in the old Doric dialect, Plutarch in the original interprets; but in a version such a measure would be superfluous, and is therefore omitted.*

kings, you shall occasionally summon the people to an assembly between Babyce and Cnacion, and they shall have the determining voice." Babyce and Cnacion are now called Cænus: but Aristotle thinks, that by Cnacion is meant the river, and by Babyce the bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls, nor any kind of building for that purpose. These things he deemed no advantage to their councils, but rather a disservice; as they distracted the attention and turned it upon trifles, on observing the statues and pictures, the splendid roofs, and other theatrical ornaments. The people thus assembled had no right to propose any subject of debate, and were only authorised to ratify or reject what might be proposed to them by the senate and the kings. But as in process of time, by additions or retrenchments, they changed the terms and perverted the sense of the decrees, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted in the Rhetra this clause; "If the people attempt to corrupt any law, the senate and chiefs shall retire:" that is, they shall dissolve the assembly, and annul the alterations. And they found means to persuade the Spartans, that this likewise was enjoined by Apollo, as we learn from these verses of Tyrtaeus²²:

Ye sons of Sparta, who at Phœbus' shrine
Your humble vows prefer, your ear incline
To his dread voice. Your beauteous realm to guide
Two guardian kings, a senate by their side,
And the concurring people lasting laws
Shall with joint power establish.

Though the government was thus tempered by Lycurgus, yet it soon afterward degenerated into an oligarchy, whose power was exercised with such wantonness and violence, that it wanted indeed, as Plato expresses it, 'a curb.' This they found in the

²² A lyric poet, whom the Athenians sent as a general to assist the Spartans; and who, by the inspiring effect of some verses recited at the head of his troops, gained them a signal victory over the Messenians.*

authority of the Ephori²³, about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. Elatus was the first person invested with this dignity, in the reign of Theopompus; who when his wife upbraided him, that he would leave the regal power to his children less than he received it, replied, "Nay, greater, because "more lasting." And in fact the prerogative, so

²³ Herodotus (i. 65.) and Xenophon (de Rep. Lac. viii.) tell us, that the Ephori were appointed by Lycurgus himself. But the account, which Plutarch gives us from Aristotle (Polit. v.) and others, of their being instituted long afterward, seems more agreeable to reason. For it is not likely that Lycurgus, who in all things endeavoured to support the aristocracy, and left the people only the right of assenting or dissenting, would appoint a kind of tribunes of the people, to be masters as it were of both the kings and the senate. Some, indeed, suppose the Ephori to have been at first the kings' friends, to whom they delegated their authority, when they were obliged to be in the field. But it is very clear, that they were elected by the people out of their own body, and sometimes out of it's very dregs; for the boldest citizen, whoever he was, was most likely to be chosen to this office, which was intended as a check upon the senate and the kings. They were five in number, like the Quinqueviri in the republic of Carthage; were annually elected; and, in order to effect any thing, were obliged to be unanimous. Their authority, though well designed at first, came at length to be in a manner boundless. They presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces to be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state. They likewise held a court of justice, inquired into the conduct of all magistrates, inspected the behaviour and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the Helots, and in short by degrees drew the whole administration into their hands. They even went so far, as to put king Agis to death under a form of justice, and were themselves at last killed by Cleomenes. (L.)

M. Barthelémy however, in his Travels of Anacharsis, thinks that the function of the Ephori was a magistracy anterior to the time of Lycurgus, as they roused the people to resist his innovations. The Cretans too, whom he copied, had officers called Cosmi, compared by Aristotle with the Ephori. Besides, most authors mention them, not as a novelty of Theopompus, but as applied by him in the way of a check to the royal power. The probability therefore is, that Lycurgus continued to them some of their existing privileges; and that Theopompus invested them with others, which converted the government into a kind of oligarchy.*

stripped of all extravagant pretensions, no longer occasioned either envy or danger to it's possessors. By these means they escaped the miseries, which befel the Messenian and Argive kings, who would not in the least remit the severity of their power in favour of the people. From nothing more indeed does the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus appear, than from the disorderly governments, and the bad understanding that subsisted between the kings and the people of Messene and Argos, states near in blood and in situation to Sparta²⁴. For as at first they were in all respects equal to her, and possessed a better country²⁵, and yet preserved no lasting happiness, but through the insolence of the kings and disobedience of the people were harassed with perpetual troubles; they most clearly evinced that it was really a felicity more than human, a blessing from heaven to the Spartans, to have had a legislator who knew so well how to frame and temper their government²⁶. But this was an event of a later date.

A second and more adventurous political enterprise of Lycurgus was, a new division of the lands. In these he had found a prodigious inequality, the city overcharged with many indigent persons who had none, and the great property accumulated in the hands of a few. Determined therefore to root

²⁴ These three states claimed a common origin, from the Heraclidæ; Argos and Messene deriving themselves from Temenus and Cresphontes, and Sparta from Eurysthenes and Procles (the sons of Aristodemus) their nephews.*

²⁵ The mountains, which intersected the territory of Sparta, almost prevented it's cultivation; while we have Strabo's authority for representing Messenia and Argolis, from their extensive and well-watered plains, as two of the richest parts of Greece.*

²⁶ Whatever Plutarch might mean by ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ὕψιστον, it is certain that kingly power had given place to democracy in Messene and Argos, long before the time of Lycurgus. Those states indeed experienced great internal troubles, not only while under the government of kings, but when in the form of commonwealths; and never, after the age of that legislator, made any figure equal to Lacedæmon.

out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, and those still more inveterate and fatal distempers of a state, poverty and riches, he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land and to make new ones, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and manner of living. Hence, if they were ambitious of distinction, they must seek it in virtue, as no other difference was left between them, but that which arises from the dishonour of base actions and the praise of good ones. His proposal was carried into effect. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. But some say, he made only six thousand shares for the city, and that Polydorus subsequently added three more: others, that Polydorus doubled the number appointed by Lycurgus, which were only four thousand five hundred. Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) seventy medimni of grain for each man²⁷, and twelve for each woman, beside a quantity of wine and oil in proportion. Such a provision they thought sufficient for health and a good habit of body, and they wanted nothing more. A story is told of him that, not long afterward, returning from a journey through the fields just reaped, and seeing the shocks standing parallel and equal, he smiled, and said to some that were near him; "How like is Laconia to
"an estate, newly divided among many brothers!"

After this he attempted to divide also the moveables, in order to banish all appearance of inequality: but he soon perceived, that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them; and therefore he adopted another method, counter-working their avarice by a stratagem²⁸. First, he

²⁷ By a man is meant the master of a family, whose household was to subsist upon this allotment.

²⁸ For a long time after Lycurgus, the Spartans gloriously opposed the growth of avarice: insomuch that a young man, who had

stopped the currency of the gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money only: then, to a great quantity and weight of this he assigned but a very small value; so that to contain ten minæ²⁹ a whole room was required, and to remove it, a yoke of oxen. When this became current, many kinds of injustice ceased in Lacedæmon. Who would steal or take a bribe, who would defraud or rob, when he was unable to conceal the booty; when he could neither be dignified by the possession of it, nor if it were cut in pieces, be served by it's use? For we are told that after having heated it, they quenched it in vinegar, to make it brittle and unmalleable, and consequently unfit for any other service. In the next place, he put down unprofitable and superfluous arts: if he had not indeed done this, most of them would have fallen of themselves, when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of. Their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised; so that the Spartans had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares, neither did any merchant-ship unload in their harbours. There were not even to be found in their whole country either sophists, itinerant fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in

bought an estate at a great advantage, was called to account for it, and a fine set upon him. For, beside the injustice of which he had been guilty in buying a thing for less than it was worth, they judged that he was too desirous of gain, since his mind was employed in getting, at an age when others think only of spending. But when the Spartans, no longer satisfied with their own territories (as Lycurgus had enjoined them to be) engaged in foreign wars, their money not being current in other countries, they found themselves obliged to apply to the Persians, whose gold and silver dazzled their eyes. And their covetousness grew at length so infamous, that it occasioned the proverb mentioned by Plato, 'One may see a great deal of money carried into Lacedæmon, but one never sees any of it brought out again.' For modern instances of a similar kind, in which the sternness of republicanism yielded to the temptations of avarice, see Naylor's spirited History of Helvetia. See also not. (71.)

²⁹ 32l. 5s. 10d. sterling.

gold and silver trinkets, because there was no money. Thus luxury, losing by degrees the means by which it is cherished and supported, died away: even they who had great possessions derived no advantage from them, since they could not be exhibited in public, but must lie useless in unregarded repositories. Hence it was, that excellent workmanship was shown in their useful and necessary furniture, as beds, chairs, and tables; and the Lacedæmonian cup, called Cothon³⁰ (as Critias informs us) was highly valued, particularly in campaigns: for the water which must then of necessity be drunk, though it would often otherwise offend the sight, had it's muddiness concealed by the colour of the cup, and the thick part stopping at the shelving brim, it came clearer to the lips. Of these improvements, the lawgiver was the cause; for the workmen, having no more employment in utensils of mere curiosity, displayed the excellence of their art in such as were necessary.

Desirous to complete the conquest of luxury, and to exterminate the love of riches, he introduced a third institution, which was wisely and ingeniously contrived. This was the use of public tables³¹,

³⁰ A description of this small earthen cup, and the passage of Critias referred to, occurs in Athenæus xi. 10.*

³¹ Xenophon seems to have penetrated farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had a better opportunity of doing. The rest only say, that it was intended to repress luxury; but he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old; the former relating the great things that had been performed within their memory, and thus exciting the growing generation to distinguish themselves by performances equally honourable. It was found impracticable however for all the citizens to eat in common, when the number of them came to exceed the number of the lots of land; and Dacier therefore thinks it might have been better, if the lawgiver had ordained, that those public tables should be maintained at the public expense; as was the case in Crete, whence he had borrowed the chief part of this institution. (Aristot. Pol. ii. 8.) But it must be considered that, while the discipline of Lycurgus was kept up in it's purity, they provided

where all were to eat in common the same meat, and such kinds of it as were appointed by law. At the same time they were forbidden to eat at home upon expensive couches and tables, to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, or to fatten like voracious animals in private. For so not only their manners would be corrupted, but their bodies disordered; abandoned to every species of sensuality and dissoluteness, they would require long sleep, warm baths, and the same indulgences as in perpetual sickness. To effect this, was certainly very great; but it was still greater, (as Theophrastus expresses it) to secure wealth from rapine and from envy; or rather, by their eating in common and by the frugality of their tables, to take from it its very being. For what use or enjoyment of it, what peculiar display of magnificence could there be, where the poor man went to the same refreshment with the opulent? Hence arose the observation, that it was only at Sparta where Plutus (according to the proverb) was kept blind, and, like an image, destitute of life or motion. It must farther be observed, that they had not the privilege of eating at home, and thus of coming without appetite to the public repast. They made a point of observing any one, who did not eat and drink with them; and reproached, as an intemperate and effeminate person, him that was sick of the common diet.

The rich therefore, we are told, were more offended with this regulation than with any other, and rising in a body loudly expressed their indignation: nay, they proceeded so far as to assault Lycurgus with stones, so that he was forced to fly from the assembly and take refuge in a temple. Unhappily however, before he reached it, a young man named

against any inconvenience from the increase of citizens by sending out colonies; and Lacedæmon was not burthened with poor, till its authority was on the decline.

Alcander, hasty in his resentments though not otherwise ill-tempered, came up with him, and upon his turning round, struck out one of his eyes with a stick. Lycurgus then stopped short and, without giving way to passion, exhibited to the people his eye beat out, and his face streaming with blood. At this spectacle they were so affected with shame and sorrow, that they surrendered Alcander into his hands, and conducted him home with the utmost expressions of regret. Lycurgus thanked them for their care of his person, and dismissed them all except Alcander. Him he took to his house, but showed him no ill-treatment, either by word or action; only ordering him to wait upon him, instead of his usual servants and attendants. The youth, who was of an ingenuous disposition, silently did as he was commanded. Living in this manner with Lycurgus, and having an opportunity of observing the mildness and goodness of his heart, his strict temperance, and his indefatigable industry, he told his friends that he was not, (as might have been supposed), proud or severe, but above all others gentle and engaging in his behaviour. This then was his chastisement, and this punishment he suffered, from a wild and headstrong young man to be converted into a modest and prudent citizen. In memory of his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to Minerva Optiletis, so called by him from a term, which the Dorians use for the eye. Yet Dioscorides (who wrote a Treatise upon the Lacedæmonian government) and others relate, that his eye was hurt, but not put out, and that he built the temple in gratitude to the goddess for his cure. The Spartans, however, never carried staves to their assemblies afterward.

The public repasts were called by the Cretans *Andria*; but the Lacedæmonians stiled them *Phiditia*, either from their tendency to 'friendship' and mutual benevolence, *phiditia* being used instead of *philitia*; or else from their teaching frugality and

‘parsimony,’ which the word *pheidō* signifies. But it is not at all impossible, that the first letter might by some means or other be added, and so *phiditia* take place of *editia*, which barely signifies ‘eating.’ There were fifteen persons to a table, or a few more or less. Each of them was obliged to contribute monthly about a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. If any of them happened to offer a sacrifice of first-fruits, or to kill venison, he sent a part of it to the public table: for, after a sacrifice or hunting, he was at liberty to sup at home; but the rest were to appear at the usual place. For a long time, this eating in common was observed with great exactness: so that when king Agis returned from a successful expedition against the Athenians, and wishing to sup with his wife requested to have his portion at home³², the Polemarchs refused to send it³³: nay, when through resentment he neglected the day following to offer the sacrifice usual on occasions of victory, they imposed a fine upon him for disobedience.

Children also were introduced at these public tables, as so many schools of sobriety. There they heard discourses concerning government, and were instructed in the most liberal breeding. There they were allowed to jest without scurrility, and were not to take it ill, when the raillery was returned. For it was reckoned worthy of a Lacedæmonian, to bear a jest; but if any one’s patience failed, he had only to desire them to be quiet, and they imme-

³² The kings of Sparta had always double commons allowed them; not that they were permitted to indulge their appetites more than others, but that they might have an opportunity of sharing their portion with some brave man, whom they chose to distinguish by that honour.

³³ The Polemarchs of Sparta were those, who had commanded the army under the kings. The principal men in the state always divided the provisions at table. (See Pollux viii. 8.)

diately desisted. When they first entered, the oldest man present pointed to the door, and said, "Not a word spoken in this company goes out there"³⁴. The admitting of any man to a particular table was under the following regulation: Each member of that small society took a little ball of soft bread in his hand; this he was to drop, without saying a word, into a vessel called 'Caddos,' which the waiter carried upon his head. If he approved of the candidate, he did it without altering the figure: if not he first pressed it flat in his hand; for a flattened ball was considered as a negative. And if but one such was found, the person was excluded, as they thought it proper that the whole company should be satisfied with each other. He, who was thus rejected, was said to 'have no luck in the caddos.'

The dish, that was in the highest esteem among them, was the black broth. Of this the old men were so fond, that they ranged themselves on one side and ate it, leaving the meat to the young people. It is related of a king of Pontus³⁵, that he purchased a Lacedæmonian cook, for the sake of this broth. But, when he came to taste it, he strongly expressed his dislike; upon which the cook answered, "Sir, in order to relish this broth, it is necessary first to bathe in the Eurotas." After they had drunk moderately, they went home without lights. They were forbidden indeed to walk with a light, upon either this or any other occasion, that they might accustom themselves to march boldly and resolutely in the darkest night³⁶. Such was the order of their public repasts.

³⁴ Μισα μνημονα συνηπείην was a judicious maxim for the followers of Anacreon, who under the influence of wine unlocked their bosoms to each other, and made a mutual display of their follies and their vices. The same principle applies, with still stronger obligation, to the confidential intercourse of more correct society.*

³⁵ This story is elsewhere told, by Plutarch, of Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; and Cicero likewise asserts, that he was the person. The Eurotas was the river of Sparta.

³⁶ Xenophon confines this prohibition to the young; and assigns

Lycurgus left none of his laws in writing: it was ordered indeed in one of the Rhetraë, that none of them should be written. For what he thought most conducive to the virtue and happiness of a city, was principle interwoven with the manners and breeding of the people. This would remain immoveable, as resting on inclination, and be the strongest and most lasting tie; and the habits, which education produced in the youth, would answer in each the purpose of a lawgiver. As for smaller matters, contracts about property, and whatever occasionally varied, it was better not to reduce these to a written and unalterable method; but to suffer them to change with the times, and to admit of additions or retrenchments at the pleasure of persons so well educated. For he resolved the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth. And this, as we have observed, was the reason, why one of his ordinances forbade them to have any written laws.

Another ordinance levelled against magnificence and expense directed, that the ceilings of houses should be wrought with no tool but the ax, and the doors only with the saw. For, as Epaminondas is reported to have said afterward of his table, "Treason lurks not under such a dinner*;" so Lycurgus before him perceived, that a house of this description does not admit of luxury and needless splendour. No man indeed could be so absurd as to bring, into a dwelling so homely and simple, bedsteads with silver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, and a corresponding train of other extravagances: but all would necessarily have the bed suitable to the room, the coverlet to the bed, and the rest of their utensils and furniture to that. From this plain sort of dwellings proceeded the question of Leotychidas the

as it's object the necessity of keeping themselves sober, that they might not miss their way home.*

* —Nulla acuta bilantur
Fictilibus.——

Juv. Sat. x. 264.

elder to his host, when he supped at Corinth, and saw the ceiling of the room most splendidly and curiously wrought, "Whether trees grew square in his country³⁷?"

A third ordinance of Lycurgus was, that they should not often make war against the same enemy; lest, by being frequently put upon defending themselves, they too should become able warriors in their turn. Hence they afterward most heavily censured king Agesilaus, that by frequent and continued incursions into Bœotia³⁸ he had taught the Thebans to make head against the Lacedæmonians: and hence Antalcidas observed, when he saw him wounded, "The Thebans pay you well for making them good soldiers, who neither were willing nor able to fight you before." These ordinances he called *Rhetræ*, as if they had been oracles and decrees of the Deity himself³⁹.

As for the education of youth, which he looked upon as the loftiest and most glorious work of a law-giver, he began with it at the very source, taking into consideration their conception and birth, by regulating the marriages. For he did not, as Aristotle observes⁴⁰, desist from his attempt to bring the women under sober rules. They had, indeed, assumed great liberty and power on account of the frequent expeditions of their husbands, during which they were left sole mistresses at home, and thus gained an undue deference and improper titles; but, notwithstanding this, he took all possible care of them. He ordered the virgins to amuse themselves in running,

³⁷ This is rendered by the former English translator, as if Leoty-chidas' question proceeded from ignorance, whereas it was really an arch sneer upon the expensive buildings of Corinth.

³⁸ As appeared plainly at the battle of Leuctra, where the Lacedæmonians were overthrown by Epaminondas, and lost their king Cleombrotus together with the flower of their army.

³⁹ Or so called, perhaps, because transmitted by oral tradition.*

⁴⁰ Pol. ii. 7., where he imputes this usurpation of the ladies to the long wars necessarily maintained by their husbands against the states of Argos, Arcadia, and Messene.*

wrestling, and throwing quoits and darts : that, their bodies being strong and vigorous, the children afterward produced from them might be the same ; and that, thus fortified by exercise, they might better support the pangs of child-birth, and be delivered with safety. /In order to take away the excessive tenderness and delicacy of the sex, the consequence of a recluse life, he accustomed the young maidens occasionally to be seen naked as well as the young men, and to dance and sing in their presence upon certain festivals. There they sometimes indulged in a little raillery upon those that had misbehaved themselves, and sometimes recited encomiums on such as deserved them ; thus kindling in the young men an useful emulation and love of glory. For he who was praised for his bravery, and celebrated among the virgins, went away perfectly happy ; while their biting sarcasms, thrown out in sport, were not less cutting, than serious admonitions ; especially as the kings and the senate went with the other citizens to see all that passed. As for the virgins appearing naked, there was nothing disgraceful in it, because every thing was conducted with modesty, and without one indecent word or action. Nay it produced a simplicity of manners, and an emulation for the best habit of body ; their ideas likewise were naturally enlarged, while they were not excluded from their share of bravery and honour⁴¹. Hence they were furnished with sentiments and language, such as Gorgo the wife of Leonidas is said to have uttered: when a woman of another country remarked

⁴¹ And yet, though Plutarch appears to approve this institution, he elsewhere (inconsistently indeed, but more correctly) imputes the corruption and ultimate subjugation of Greece to the indecent exhibitions of their gymnasia. Whatever were the ends of the legislator, nothing can excuse the means. Montesquieu (*Sp. of Laws* iv. 6.) says, that ‘at Sparta chastity was without modesty’—separation, inevitably fatal to her existence! ‘A woman who throws off her dress,’ observes Herodotus (and may modern ladies profit by the remark!) ‘throws off at the same time her modesty, and soon learns not to blush at any thing.’ *

to her, "You of Lacedæmon are the only women in the world that rule men;" she replied, "We are the only women that bear men."

These public dances and other exercises of the young maidens naked, in sight of the young men, were moreover incentives to marriage; and, to use Plato's expression, drew them almost as necessarily by the attractions of love, as a geometrical conclusion is drawn from the premises. To encourage it still farther, some marks of infamy were set upon those, that continued bachelors⁴². For they were not permitted to see these exercises of the naked virgins; and the magistrates, commanded them to march naked round the market-place in the winter, and to sing a song composed against themselves, which expressed how justly they were punished for their disobedience to the laws. They were also deprived of that honour and respect, which the young paid to the old; so that nobody found fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, though an eminent commander: upon his going one day into company, a young man (it seems) instead of rising up and giving him place, told him, "You have no child to give place to me, when I am old."

In their marriages, the bridegroom carried off the bride by violence; and she was never chosen in a tender age, but when she had arrived at full maturity. Then the woman who had the direction of the wedding, cut the bride's hair close to the skin, dressed her in man's clothes, laid her upon a mat-

⁴² The time of marriage was fixed, and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to a prosecution; as were those also, who married above or below themselves. Such as had three children, had great immunities; and those, who had four, were free from all taxes. Virgins were married without portions, because neither want should prevent marriage, nor riches induce to it, without the concurrence of inclination. (L.)

Clearchus, a pupil of Aristotle, adds that there was a festival at Sparta, in which the women were permitted to flog bachelors round an altar; that they might be constrained by feelings of shame, or of pain, to take a wife!*

trass, and left her in the dark. The bridegroom, neither oppressed with wine nor enervated with luxury, but perfectly sober (as having supped at the common table) went in privately, untied her girdle, and carried her to another bed. Having stayed there a short time, he modestly retired to his usual apartment, to sleep with the other young men : and continued afterward to observe the same conduct, spending the day with his companions, and reposing himself with them in the night, nor even visiting his bride but with the utmost modesty, and the most cautious apprehensions of being discovered by the rest of the family ; the bride at the same time exerting all her art, to contrive convenient opportunities for their private meetings. And this they did not for a short time only, but some of them even had children, before they were admitted to an interview with their wives in the day-time. This kind of commerce not only exercised their temperance and chastity, but kept their bodies fruitful, and the first ardour of their love fresh and unabated ; for as they were not satiated, like those that are always with their wives, there was still place for unextinguished desire. When he had thus established a proper regard to modesty and decorum, with respect to marriage, he was equally studious to drive from that state the vain and womanish passion of jealousy ; by making it quite as reputable to have children in common with persons of merit, as to avoid all offensive freedom in their own behaviour to their wives. (He laughed at those, who revenge with wars and bloodshed the communication of a married woman's favours ; and allowed that, if any one in years should have a young wife, he might introduce to her some handsome and worthy young man, whom he most approved, and when she had borne a child of this generous race, bring it up as his own. On the other hand he permitted⁴¹ that, if a man of

⁴¹ In this case, the kings were excepted ; for they were not at liberty to lend their wives.

character should entertain a passion for a married woman upon account of her modesty and the beauty of her children, he might treat with her husband for admission to her company; that so, planting in a beauty-bearing soil, he might produce excellent children, the congenial offspring of excellent parents. For, in the first place, Lycurgus considered children as the property less of their parents, than of the state; and therefore he would not have them begotten by ordinary persons, but by the best men in it. He next observed the vanity and absurdity of other nations, where people study to have their horses and dogs of the finest breed, which they can procure either by interest or money; and yet keep their wives shut up, that they may have children by none but themselves, though they may happen to be doting, decrepid, or infirm: as if children, when sprung from a bad stock, and consequently good for nothing, were no detriment to those to whom they belong, and who have the trouble of bringing them up; nor any advantage, when well descended and of a generous disposition. These regulations tending to secure a healthy offspring, and consequently one beneficial to the state, were so far from encouraging that licentiousness of the women which subsequently prevailed, that adultery was not known among them. A saying, upon this subject, of Geradas an ancient Spartan is thus related: A stranger had asked him, "What punishment their law appointed for adulterers?" He answered, "My friend, there are no adulterers in our country." The other rejoined, "But what, if there should be one?" "Why then," said Geradas, "he must forfeit a bull so large, that from the top of Mount Táygetus he might drink of the Eurotas⁴⁴." When the stranger expressed his surprise at this, and inquired, "But how can such

⁴⁴ The highest mountain in Laconia, whence the whole of Peloponnesus might be descried.*

“ a bull he found ? ” Geradas replied with a smile, “ And how can an adulterer be found in Sparta ? ” Such is the account, which we have of their marriages.

It was not left to the father, to rear what offspring he pleased ; but he was obliged to carry each child to a place called *Lesche*, to be examined by the most ancient men of the tribe, who were there assembled. If it was strong and well-proportioned, they gave orders for it's education, and assigned to it one of the nine thousand shares of land : but, if it was weakly and deformed, they ordered it to be thrown into the place called *Apothetæ*, a deep cavern near the mountain *Tâygetus* ; concluding that it's life could be of no advantage either to itself or to the public, since nature had not given it any radical strength or goodness of constitution⁴⁵. For the same reason the women did not wash their new-born infants with water, but with wine, thus making some trial of their habit of body ; as they imagined, that the sickly and epileptic would sink and die under the experiment, while the healthy would become more hardy and vigorous. Great care and art was also exerted by the nurses ; for as they never swathed the infants, their limbs had a freer turn, and their countenances a more liberal air : besides, they accustomed them to any sort of meat, to have no terrors in the dark, not to be afraid of being left alone, and to forbear all ill-humour and unmanly crying⁴⁶. Hence people of other countries purchased Lacedæmonian nurses for their children ; and Alcibiades,

⁴⁵ The general expediency of this law may well be disputed, though it suited the martial constitution of Sparta ; since many persons of weak constitutions make up in ingenuity what they want in strength, and so become more valuable members of the community than the most robust. It seems, however, to have had one good effect, viz. making women very careful during their pregnancy of either eating, drinking, or exercising, to excess. It made them also excellent nurses, as is observed just below.

⁴⁶ Aristotle (*Pol.* vii. 17.) would permit children to cry, as a kind of exercise favourable to their health and growth.*

the Athenian, is said to have been nursed by Amycla a Spartan. But, if he was fortunate in a nurse, he was not so in a preceptor; for Zopyrus, who was appointed to that office by Pericles, was (as Plato informs us) not better qualified than a common slave⁴⁷. The Spartan children were not thus placed under tutors purchased or hired with money, neither were the parents at liberty to educate them as they pleased; but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them to be enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and recreations in common. He, who showed the greatest conduct and courage among them, was made captain of the company. Upon him the rest fixed their eyes, obeyed his orders, and bore with patience the punishments which he inflicted: so that their whole education was an exercise of obedience. The old men were present at their diversions, and often suggested some occasion of dispute or quarrel, that they might observe with exactness the spirit of each, and their firmness in battle.

As for learning⁴⁸, they had just so much as was

⁴⁷ Mark the severity with which Plutarch condemns the ordinary practice of leaving children among servants! This has, also, been heavily censured by one of our very ablest writers upon Education, Miss Edgeworth.*

⁴⁸ The plainness of their manners, and their being so very much addicted to war, made the Lacedæmonians less fond of the sciences than the rest of the Greeks. If they wrote to be read, and spoke to be understood, it was all they sought. For this the Athenians, who were excessively vain of their learning, held them in great contempt; insomuch that Thucydides himself, drawing the character of Brasidas, says, 'he spoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian.' The Spartans, however, had a force and poignancy of expression, which excelled all the flowers of studied elegance. This was the consequence of their concise way of speaking, and their encouraging, upon all occasions, decent repartee. Arts were in no greater credit with them, than sciences. Theatrical diversions found no countenance: temperance and exercise made the physician unnecessary: their justice left no room for the practice of the lawyer; and all the trades, that minister to luxury, were unknown. (See also below, p. 150.—passages, jointly almost realising the mythos of

absolutely necessary. All the rest of their education was calculated to make them subject to command, to endure labour, to fight, and to conquer. They added therefore to their discipline, as they advanced in age; cutting their hair very close, making them go barefoot, and play for the most part quite naked. At twelve years of age, their under-garment⁴⁹ was taken away, and only a single upper one a year allowed them. Hence they were necessarily dirty in their persons, and denied the great favour of baths and oil, except on some particular days of the year. They slept in companies, upon beds made of the tops of reeds, which they gathered with their own hands without knives, and brought from the banks of the Eurotas. In winter they were permitted to add a little thistle-down⁵⁰, as that appeared to have some warmth in it.

At this age, the most distinguished among them became favourite companions of the elder⁵¹; the old men attended more constantly their places of exercise, observing their trials of strength and wit, not in a slight and cursory manner, but as their fathers, guardians, and governors: so that, at no time or place, were persons wanting to instruct and

the acute but pernicious work which once excited so much attention in England, 'the Fable of the Bees.')

* As for agriculture, and necessary mechanic business, it was left to the slaves. (L.)

Plato indeed expressly affirms, that they cultivated the mind still more than the body; but that they disguised their superiority of intellectual attainments, lest they should awaken the envy and emulation of the rest of Greece.*

⁴² The one next their skin.*

⁵⁰ This M. Ricard specifically states to be the *carduus tomentosus*.*

⁵¹ Though the youth of the male sex were much cherished and beloved, as those that were to build up the future glory of the state, yet in Sparta it was a virtuous and modest affection, untinged with that sensuality which was so scandalous at Athens and other places. Xenophon (de Rep. Laced. ii.) says, these lovers lived with those to whom they were attached, as a father does with his children, or a brother with his brethren. The good effects of this part of Lycurgus' institutions were seen in the union, which reigned among the citizens.

chastise them. One of the best and ablest men in the city was, moreover, appointed Inspector of the Youth; who gave the command of each company to the discreetest and most spirited of those called Irens. An Iren was one, that had been two years out of the class of boys: a Melliren⁵², one of the oldest boys. This Iren then, a youth twenty years old, gives orders to those under his command in their little battles, and employs them to wait upon him at his house. He sends the oldest of them to fetch wood, and the younger to gather pot-herbs: these they steal where they can find them⁵¹, either slyly getting into gardens, or else craftily and warily creeping to the common tables. But, if any one be caught, he is severely flogged for his negligence, or his want of dexterity. They steal too whatever victuals they possibly can, ingeniously contriving to do it when persons are asleep, or keep but indifferent watch. If they are discovered, they are punished not only with whipping, but with hunger. Their supper indeed is only slender at all times, that to fence against want they may be forced to exercise their courage and address. This is the first intention of their spare diet; a subordinate one is, to make them grow tall. For when the animal spirits are not too much oppressed by a great quantity of food, which stretches itself out in breadth and thick-

⁵² 'Hereafter to become an Iren.' In this institution may be recognised the proto-type of the barbarous system of 'fagging,' still unaccountably retained amidst the honourable and successful improvements of our public schools! The better part of the model however, the queries proposed after supper, &c., have somehow or other, I fear, slipped out of the modern copy.*

⁵³ Not that the Spartans authorised thefts and robberies; for, as all was in common in their republic, those vices could there have no place. But the design was to accustom children, who were destined for war, to keep themselves on the alert, and to expose themselves courageously to the severest punishments, in case they failed of the necessary dexterity: a dexterity, that would have been attended with fatal effects to the morals of any youth but the Spartan, educated (as that was) to condemn riches and superfluities, and guarded in all other respects by the severest virtue.

ness, they rise by their natural levity, and the body easily and freely shoots up in height⁵⁴. This also contributes to make them handsome; for thin and slender habits yield more freely to nature, which then gives a fine proportion to the limbs, while the gross and heavy resist her by their weight. So women that take physic during their pregnancy have slighter children indeed, but of a finer and more delicate turn, because the suppleness of the matter more readily obeys the plastic power⁵⁵. These, however, are speculations, which we shall leave to others.

The boys steal with so much caution, that one of them, having conveyed a young fox under his garment, suffered the creature to tear out his bowels with his teeth and claws, choosing rather to die than to be detected. Neither does this appear incredible, if we consider what their young men can endure to this day; many of whom we have seen expire under the lash, at the altar of Diana Orthia⁵⁶.

The Iren, reposing himself after supper, used to order one of the boys to sing a song: to another he put some question, which required a judicious answer; for example, "Who was the best man in the city?"

⁵⁴ This doctrine Plutarch has borrowed from Xenophon (de Rep. Laced. ii.); and he elsewhere relates, that Epaminondas adopted it so far, as to dismiss from his army a soldier too much inclined to *embonpoint*.*

⁵⁵ To this purport Hippocrates (Aphor. iv. 1.) directs that pregnant women, who have any grossness of humours, ought to take physic from the fourth to the seventh month.*

⁵⁶ This is supposed to be the Diana Taurica, whose statue Orestes is said to have brought to Lacedæmon, and to whom human victims were offered. Lycurgus, it is pretended, abolished these sacrifices, and substituted in their room the flagellation of young men, with whose blood the altar was at least to be sprinkled. But in truth a desire of overcoming all the weaknesses of human nature, and thereby rendering his Spartans not only superior to their neighbours, but to their species, pervades many of the institutions of Lycurgus. This principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them; and, without this, many of them cannot be explained at all.

or, "What he thought of such or such an action?" This accustomed them from their childhood to judge of the virtues, and to enter into the affairs, of their countrymen. For if one of them was asked, "Who is a good citizen?" or, "Who is an infamous one?" and hesitated in his answer, he was considered as a boy of slow parts, and of a soul that would never aspire to honour. The answer was likewise to have a reason assigned for it, and it's proof conceived in few words. He, whose account of the matter was wrong, by way of punishment had his thumb bit by the Iren. The old men and the magistrates often attended these little trials, to see whether the Iren exercised his authority in a rational and proper manner. He was permitted, indeed, to inflict the penalties; but when the boys were gone, he was to be chastised himself, if he had punished them either with too much remissness or too much severity.

The adopters of favourites also shared both in the honour and the disgrace of their boys; and one of them is said to have been fined by the magistrates, because the boy whom he had selected let some ungenerous word or cry escape him, as he was fighting. This love was so honourable, and in so much esteem, that the virgins too had their lovers among the most virtuous matrons. A competition of affection caused no misunderstanding, but rather a mutual friendship between those who had fixed their regards upon the same youth, and a joint endeavour to make him as accomplished as possible.

The boys were taught likewise to use sharp repartee, seasoned with humour, and whatever they said was to be concise and pithy. For Lycurgus, as we have observed, fixed only a small value upon a considerable quantity of his iron money; whereas he made the worth of speech, on the contrary, consist in it's being comprised in a few plain words, pregnant with a great deal of sense; and contrived that, by long silence, they might learn to be sen-

tentious and acute in their replies. As debauchery often causes weakness and sterility in the body, so the intemperance of the tongue renders conversation empty and insipid. King Agis therefore, when a certain Athenian laughed at the Lacedæmonian short swords, and said, "The jugglers upon the stage would swallow them with ease;" answered, in his laconic way, "And yet we can reach our enemies' hearts with them." To me indeed there seems to be something in this concise manner of speaking, which immediately hits the object aimed at, and forcibly strikes the mind of the hearer. Lycurgus himself was brief and sententious in his discourse, if we may judge by some of his answers, which are left on record; that, for instance, concerning the constitution: When one advised him to establish a popular government in Lacedæmon, "Go," said he, "and first make a trial of it in your own family." That again, concerning sacrifices to the Deity; when he was asked why he appointed them so trifling, and of so little value? "That we may never be in want," said he, "of something to offer him." Once more, when they inquired of him what sort of martial exercises he allowed, he answered; "All, except those in which you stretch⁵⁷ out your hands." Many similar replies of his are said to be taken from the letters, which he wrote to his countrymen: as to their question, "How shall we best guard against the invasion of an enemy?" "By continuing poor, and not desiring in your possessions to be one above another." And to the question, "Shall we inclose Sparta with walls?" "That city is well fortified, which has a wall of men, instead of brick." Whether these however, and some other letters ascribed to him, be genuine or not, is a difficult matter to determine. But that they hated long speeches, the following apophthegms are a

⁵⁷ This was the form of demanding quarter in battle.

farther proof. King Leonidas said to one, who discoursed at an improper time about affairs of some concern, "My friend, you should not talk so much to the purpose, of what it is not to the purpose to talk about." Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered; "To men of few words, few laws are sufficient." Some people finding fault with Hecateus the sophist, because when admitted to one of the public repasts, he did not utter a single syllable, Archidamidas replied; "He, who knows how to speak, knows also when to speak."

The manner of their repartees, which (as I said) were seasoned with humour, may be gathered from the following instances: When a troublesome fellow was pestering Demaratus with impertinent questions; and this in particular several times repeated, "Who is the best man in Sparta?" He answered, "He, that is the least like you." To some, who were commending the Eleans for managing the Olympic games with so much justice and propriety, Agis said; "What great matter is it, if the Eleans do justice once in five years⁵⁸?" When a stranger was professing his regard for Theopompus, and saying that his own countrymen called him Philolacon ('a lover of the Lacedæmonians'), the king answered him; "My good friend, it were much better, if they called you Philopolites" ('a lover of your own countrymen'). To an orator of Athens, who observed that the Lacedæmonians had no learning, Plistonax, the son of Pausanias, said; "True, for we are the only people of Greece, that have learned no ill from you." To a person, who inquired what number of men there were in Sparta,

⁵⁸ The Hellanodics, who distributed the prizes to the conquerors at the Olympic games, took the greatest pains during the preceding ten months (Pausan. El. vi. 24.) to qualify themselves, by an accurate study of all the decrees upon the subject, for their important though brief duty.*

Archidamidas replied, "Enow to keep bad men at a distance."

Even when they indulged a vein of pleasantry, it was obvious that they would not use one unnecessary word, nor let a single expression escape them, that had not some sense worth attending to. For one, being asked to go and hear a person who imitated the nightingale to perfection, replied, "I have heard the nightingale herself*." Another, upon reading this epitaph,

Victims of Mars, they perish'd at Selinus,
Who quench'd the rage of tyranny——

said, "And they deserved to perish, for instead of quenching it they should have let it burn out." A young man answered one, who promised him some game-cocks that would die fighting, "Give me those that will kill fighting." Another, seeing some people relieving the necessities of nature, on stools for the purpose, said, "May I never sit in any place, where I cannot rise before the aged†!" Such was the character of their apophthegms: so that it has been justly enough observed, that the term *lakonizein* ('to act the Lacedæmonian') is to be referred rather to the exercises of the mind, than to those of the body.

Nor were poetry and music less cultivated among them, than a concise dignity of expression. Their songs had in them a spirit, which could rouse the soul, and impel it enthusiastically to action. The language was plain and manly, the subject serious and moral. For they consisted chiefly of the praises

* This is ascribed to Agesilaus, in his Life, IV. 97.*

† For a reference to Toup's Emend. ad Suid. II. 376., noticing the error of the Latin version, which has hitherto clung to the English ones, I am indebted to E. H. Barker, Esq. of Trinity-College, Cambridge. Wytttenbach, in his edition of the *Morals*, (8vo. II. 928.) has given a more correct translation,—*Exonerandæ alvi causâ in sellis sedere videns*.*

of heroes who had died for Sparta, or else of expressions of detestation for such wretches as had declined the glorious opportunity, and rather chose to drag on life in misery and contempt. Neither did they forget to express an ambition for glory, suitable to their respective ages. Of this, it may not be amiss to give an instance: There were three choirs on their festivals, corresponding with the three ages of man. The old men began,

Once in battle bold we shone:

the young men answered,

Try us; our vigour is not gone:

and the boys concluded,

The palm remains for us alone ⁵⁹.

If we consider indeed with some attention such of the Lacedæmonian poems as are still extant, and study those airs which were played upon the flute when they marched to battle, we must agree, that Terpander ⁶⁰ and Pindar have very fitly joined valour

⁵⁹ These iambic verses are the fragments of a song, of which Tyrtæus probably was the author. For Pollux (iv.) affirms that he composed a threefold dance for the old men, the young men, and the boys: and this he perhaps accompanied with some poetry.

It appears, from Athenæus (iv. 1.) that all the Lacedæmonians learned to play upon the flute; and A. Gellius (i. 11.) ascertains, from Thucydides (v. 70.) that Lycurgus' motive, for introducing this soft instrument among his hardy soldiers, was to moderate their dangerous impetuosity.*

⁶⁰ Terpander, a poet and a musician (as indeed the poets of those times in general were), added three strings to the harp, which till then had but four. He flourished, about a hundred and twenty years after Homer, (L.) at Lesbos; and was sent for to Sparta, by order of the oracle, to appease a sedition. He is said to have versified the code of Lycurgus: a work not less difficult, if the statutes of that legislator had any resemblance to an English act of parliament, than the attempt of a Jesuit to display the Principia of Newton in heroic metre! In comparison with these la-

and music together. The former thus speaks of Lacedæmon,

There gleams the youth's bright falchion ; there the Muse
Lifts her sweet voice ; there awful Justice views
Her wide pavilion open.

And Pindar sings,

There in grave council sits the sage ;
There burns the youth's resistless rage
To hurl the quivering lance ;
The Muse with glory crowns their arms,
And Melody exerts her charms,
And Pleasure leads the dance.

Thus we are informed, not only of their warlike turn, but of their skill in music. For, as the Spartan poet says,

To swell the thunders of the lyre
Becomes the warrior's lofty fire.

And the king always offered sacrifice to the ⁶¹ Muses before a battle, putting his troops in mind (I suppose) of their early education, and of the judgement which would be passed upon them ; as well as that those divinities might teach them to despise danger, in the performance of exploits fit for them to celebrate.

Upon these occasions ⁶² they relaxed the severity

bours, light was the toil of the poet, who harmonised the *As in presenti*, and of that composer who has still more recently set the Multiplication-table to Music !*

⁶¹ Xenophon says the king, who commanded the army, sacrificed to Jupiter and Minerva on the frontier of his kingdom. The Muses probably were joined with Minerva, the patroness of science.

⁶² The true reason of this was, in all probability, that war might be less burthensome to them ; for to render them bold and warlike was the reigning passion of their legislator. Under this article we may add, that they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the same place, as well to hinder their being surprised, as that they might be more troublesome to their enemies, by wasting every corner of their country. They slept all night in their armour ; but

of their discipline, permitting their men to be curious in dressing their hair, and elegant in their arms and apparel, while they expressed their alacrity, like horses full of fire and neighing for the race. They let their hair therefore grow from their youth, but took more particular care, when they expected an action, to have it well-combed and shining; remembering a saying of Lycurgus, that "a large head of hair made the handsome more graceful, and the ugly more terrible." The exercises likewise of the young men, during the campaigns, were more moderate, their diet less hard, and their whole treatment more indulgent: so that they were the only people in the world, with whom military discipline wore in time of war a gentler face than usual. When the army was drawn up and the enemy near, the king sacrificed a goat, and commanded them all to place garlands upon their heads, and the musicians to play Castor's march⁶³, while he himself began the Pæan, which was the signal to advance. It was at once a solemn and a dreadful sight, to see them measuring their steps to the sound of music, and without the least disorder in their ranks or tumult of spirits, moving forward cheerfully and composedly with harmony to battle. Neither fear nor rashness was likely excessively to affect men so disposed, possessed of a firm presence of mind, with courage and confidence of success, as under the conduct of heaven. When the king marched against the enemy, he had always with him some one, who had been crowned in the public games of Greece. A Lacedæmonian once, we are told, when large sums were offered him, on condition that he would

their out-guards were not allowed their shields that, being unprovided with defence, they might not dare to sleep. In all their expeditions, they carefully attended to the performance of religious rites; and, after their evening-meal was over, the soldiers sung together hymns to their gods.

⁶³ So called, as supposed to have been invented by that hero, or as containing an account of his exploits. Vide Poll. iv. x. 78.*

not enter the Olympic lists, refused them. Having with much difficulty thrown his antagonist, he was asked; "Spartan, what will you gain by this victory?" He answered with a smile, "I shall have the honour of fighting foremost in the ranks before my prince." When they had routed the enemy, they continued the pursuit till they were assured of the victory, upon which they immediately desisted; deeming it neither generous, nor worthy of a Grecian, to destroy those who made no farther resistance. This, while it proved their magnanimity, was also of considerable service to their cause. For when their adversaries found that they killed such as stood out, but spared the fugitives, they deemed it better to fly, than to meet their fate upon the spot.

Hippias the sophist informs us, that Lycurgus himself was a man of great personal valour, and an experienced commander⁶¹. Philostephanus also ascribes to him the first division of the cavalry into troops of fifty, who were drawn up in a square body. But Demetrius the Phalerean affirms, that he never had any military employment, and that there was the profoundest peace imaginable when he was establishing the constitution of Sparta. His providing for a cessation of arms, during the Olympic games, is likewise a mark of the humane and peaceable man. Some however acquaint us, and among the rest Hermippus, that Lycurgus had at first no communication with Iphitus; but coming that way, and happening to be a spectator, he heard behind him a human voice (as he thought) which expressed some wonder and displeasure, that he did not encourage his countrymen to resort to so illustrious an assembly. Upon this he immediately turned round to discover whence the voice came; and, as there was

⁶¹ Xenophon, in his Treatise on the Spartan Commonwealth, says that Lycurgus brought military discipline to high perfection, and gives us a detail of his regulations and improvements in the art of war; some of which have been mentioned in the foregoing note.

no one to be seen, concluded that it was from heaven. He therefore joined Iphitus, and ordering along with him the ceremonies of the festival, rendered it more magnificent and more lasting.

The discipline of the Lacedæmonians continued, after they were arrived at years of maturity. For no man was at liberty to live as he pleased, the city being like one great camp, where all had their stated allowance and knew their public charge; each man concluding that he was born not for himself, but for his country. Hence, if they had no particular orders, they employed themselves in inspecting the boys and teaching them something useful, or in learning from those that were older than themselves. One of the highest privileges that Lycurgus procured for his countrymen, was the enjoyment of leisure, the consequence of his having forbidden them to exercise any mechanic trade⁶⁵. It was not worth their while to take pains to raise a fortune, since riches there were of no account: and the Helots, who tilled the ground, were answerable for the produce above-mentioned. To this purpose we have a story of a Lacedæmonian, who happening to be at Athens while the court sate, was informed of a man that had been fined for idleness; and when the poor fellow was returning home in deep dejection, attended by his condoling friends, desired the company to show him the person, who had been condemned for keeping up his dignity. So much beneath them they reckoned all attention to mechanic arts, and all desire of riches!

With money, law-suits were banished from Lacedæmon. The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty, but possessed an equal competency, and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few

⁶⁵ How different was the opinion of Socrates! who contended that there was nothing in the arts or trades beyond the capacity, or improper for the acquirement, of a gentleman; as they might eventually, upon any signal reverse of fortune, afford an invaluable resource.*

wants. Hence, when they were not engaged in war, their time was taken up with dancing, feasting, hunting, or meeting to exercise or to converse. They never went to market under thirty years of age⁶⁶, all their necessary concerns being managed by their relations and adopters. Neither was it deemed creditable to the old, to be seen sauntering in the market-place*, but rather to pass great part of the day in the schools of exercise, or places of conversation. Their discourse seldom turned upon money or business or trade, but upon the praise of the excellent, or the contempt of the worthless; the last of which was expressed with a degree of pleasantry and humour, conveying instruction and correction without seeming to intend it. Lycurgus himself, indeed, was not immoderately severe in his manner; but, as Sosibius informs us, dedicated a litile statue to the god of laughter in each hall: considering facetiousness as a seasoning of their hard exercise and diet, and therefore ordering it to take place upon all proper occasions, in their common entertainments and parties of pleasure.

Upon the whole, he taught his citizens to think nothing more disagreeable, than to live by (or for) themselves. Like bees, they acted with one impulse for the public good, and always assembled about their prince. They were inflamed by a thirst of honour, an enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had not a wish but for their country. These sentiments are confirmed by some of their aphorisms. When Pædaretus lost his election for one of the Three Hundred, he went away rejoicing, that there were three hundred better men than himself found

⁶⁶ This also is said to have been the age, when they began to serve in the army. But, as they were obliged to fifty years' service before the law exempted them from going to the field, I incline to the opinion of those writers, who think that the military age is not well ascertained.

* This was an Athenian feature, and subsisted unimpaired for at least nearly four centuries, as we learn from the charges conveyed in Demosth. Philipp. i. 5. and Act. Apost. xvii. 21.*

in the city⁶⁷. Pisistratidas, going with some others ambassador to the king of Persia's lieutenants, was asked whether they came with a public commission, or upon their own account; to which he answered, "If successful, for the public; if unsuccessful, for ourselves." Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas⁶⁸, inquiring of some Amphipolitans that waited upon her at her house, whether her son had died honourably, and as became a Spartan; they loudly extolled his merit, and said there was not such a man left in Sparta: upon which she replied, "Say not so, my friends; for Brasidas was indeed a man of honour, but Lacedæmon can boast of many better men than he⁶⁹."

The senate, as I said before, consisted at first of those, who had been assistants to Lycurgus in his great enterprise. Afterward, to fill up any vacancy that might happen, he ordered the most worthy man to be selected, from such as were full three-score years old. This was the most respectable dispute in the world, and the contest was truly glorious: for it was not who should be swiftest among the swift, or strongest among the strong, but who was the wisest and the best among the good and the wise. He who had the preference, was to bear this mark of superior excellence through life, this high authority, which placed in his hands the

⁶⁷ According to Xenophon, it was the custom for the Ephori to appoint three officers, each of whom was to select a hundred men, the best he could find; among these, it was a point of great emulation to be included.

⁶⁸ Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, defeated the Athenians in a battle fought near Amphipolis, a town of Macedon on the banks of the Strymon, but lost his life in the action. (Thucyd. v. 10.)

⁶⁹ Who will not be reminded, by this answer, of the spirited observation of our English king, especially as contrasted with the dejection of the Scottish prince, on the event of Chevy-chase?

'I trust, I have within my realm
Five hundred as good as he.'

A trait, which Addison has thought worthy of special observation, in his comment upon that national ballad (Spect. 70.)*

lives and honour of the citizens and every other important affair. The manner of the election was as follows : When the people were assembled, some persons appointed for the purpose were shut up in a room near the place, where they could neither see nor be seen, and only hear the shouts of the constituents⁷⁰ : for by them they decided this, and most other affairs. Each candidate walked silently through the assembly, one after another according to lot. Those that were shut up had writing-tables, in which they set down in different columns the frequency and loudness of the shouts, without knowing for whom they were intended ; only they marked them as first, second, third, and so on, according to the number of competitors. He, that had the most and the loudest acclamations, was declared duly elected. He was then crowned with a garland, and went round to give thanks to the gods : many young men followed, striving who should extol him most highly, and the women celebrated his virtues in their songs, and blessed his worthy life and conduct. Each of his relations offered him a repast, and their address on the occasion was, " Sparta honours you with this collation." When he had finished the procession, he went to the common table, and lived as before. Only two portions were set before him, one of which he carried away : and, as all the women related to him attended at the gates of the public hall, he called her for whom he had the highest esteem, and presented her with the portion, saying at the same time ; " That, which I received as a mark of honour, I give to you." Upon which, she was conducted home with great applause by the rest of the women.

⁷⁰ As this was a tumultuary and uncertain way of deciding who had the majority, they were often obliged to separate the people, and count the votes. A striking proof of it's inconvenience occurred, upon an important occasion, to the Ephorus Sthenelaidas. (Thucyd. i. 87.) Aristotle thinks, that in such a case persons should not offer themselves candidates, or solicit the office or employment, but be called to it merely for their abilities and their merit. (Pol. ii. 7.)

Lycurgus, likewise, made good regulations with respect to burials. In the first place, in order to take away all superstition, he ordered the dead to be buried in the city⁷¹, and even permitted their monuments to be erected near the temples: accustoming the youth to such sights from their infancy, that they might have no uneasiness from them, nor any horror of death, as if people were polluted with the touch of a dead body, or by treading upon a grave. Next, he suffered nothing to be buried with the corpse, except the red cloth and the olive-leaves in which it was wrapped⁷². Neither would he permit the relations to inscribe any names upon the tombs, except of those men that had fallen in battle, or of those women who had died in some sacred office. He limited the time of mourning to eleven days: on the twelfth they were to put an end to it, after offering a sacrifice to Ceres. No part of life was left vacant and unimproved, but even with their necessary actions he interwove the praise of virtue and the contempt of vice: and he so filled the city with living examples, that it was next to impossible for persons, who had these from their infancy before their eyes, not to be drawn and formed to honour.

For the same reason he would not permit all, who

⁷¹ It was almost the universal custom in Greece, and Rome, to bury the dead by the sides of the highways; of which practice, whatever superstition might ostensibly be the basis, the real foundation was doubtless a regard to the general health. Besides, Lycurgus rejected every thing, that might generate infection; from which indeed the rite of burning the dead, and inclosing their ashes in urns, was a farther preservative.

The venerable bishop Hall, who died A. D. 1656. æt. 82., by a regulation as favourable to the health of his parish as indicative of his own humility, was buried in the churchyard of the village where he resided at the time of his death; observing in his will, 'I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints.'⁷²*

⁷² Ælian tells us (vi. 6.) that not all the citizens indifferently were buried in 'the red cloth and olive-leaves,' but only such as had distinguished themselves particularly in the field.

desired it, to go abroad and see other countries; lest they should contract foreign manners, a proneness to imitate the undisciplined, and a variety of opinions upon government. He excluded strangers⁷³ likewise from Sparta, who could not assign a good motive for their coming; not, as Thucydides states, out of fear lest they should imitate the constitution of that city, and make improvements in virtue, but lest they should teach his own people some evil. For with foreigners are imported new subjects of discourse⁷⁴; new discourse produces new opinions; and from these necessarily spring new passions and desires which, like discords in music, would disturb the established government. He therefore thought it more expedient for the city, to keep out of it corrupt customs and manners, than to prevent the introduction of a pestilence.

Thus far then we can perceive no vestiges of a disregard to right and wrong, which is the charge some people lay to the laws of Lycurgus; owning them well enough calculated to produce valour, but not to promote justice⁷⁵. Perhaps it was the *Cryptia*⁷⁶ (as they called it) or ‘ambuscade,’ if that

⁷³ He received with pleasure such strangers, as came and submitted to his laws, and assigned them shares of land, which they were not permitted to alienate. The lots, indeed, of all the citizens were inalienable.

⁷⁴ Xenophon, who was an eye-witness, imputes the changes in the Spartan discipline to foreign manners: but, in fact, they had a deeper root. When the Lacedæmonians, instead of obeying their lawgiver's injunction, to content themselves with defending their own country and to make no conquests, carried their victorious arms over the whole of Greece and into Asia itself, then foreign gold and foreign manners entered Sparta, corrupted the simplicity of it's institutions, and at last overturned the republic. See not. (28.)

⁷⁵ For this object, and for inspiring a general thirst of conquest, from the imputation of which Plutarch but feebly defends his legislator, Lycurgus is severely and very justly blamed by many respectable authors, as Aristotle *Pol.* ii. 7. vii. 14., Plato *de Legg.* i., Polyb. vi. 8., &c.*

⁷⁶ The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians towards the Helots is frequently mentioned, and generally decried by all authors; though.

was really one of this lawgiver's institutions, as Aristotle affirms it was, which gave Plato so bad an impression both of Lycurgus and of his laws. The governors of the youth ordered the shrewdest of them from time to time to disperse themselves in the country, provided only with daggers and some necessary provisions. In the day-time they hid themselves, and rested in the most private places which they could find; but at night they sallied out into the roads, and killed all the Helots they met with. Nay sometimes by day they fell upon them in the fields, and murdered the ablest and strongest of them. Thucydides, in his History of the Pelopon-

Plutarch, who was a great admirer of the Spartans, endeavours to palliate it as much as possible. These poor wretches were marked out for slaves in their dress and gesture, and in short, in every thing. They wore dog-skin bonnets and sheep-skin vests, and were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their masters. Once a-day they received a certain number of stripes, lest they should forget they were slaves: and, to crown all, they were liable to this *cryptia*, which was sure to be executed upon all such as spoke, looked, or walked like freemen; a cruel and unnecessary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people! 'But the Ephori declared war against them.' Against whom? Why, against poor naked slaves, who tilled their lands, dressed their food, and did all those offices for them, which they were too proud to do for themselves. Plutarch endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of Lycurgus; and alleges, that it was introduced on account of the Helots having joined with the Messenians after a terrible earthquake (A. C. 467.) by which a great part of Lacedæmon was overthrown, and above twenty thousand Spartans destroyed. But Ælian expressly states it (Hist. Var.) as the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgement from heaven upon the Spartans, for having treated their Helots with such inhumanity. (L.)

It is contended however by M. Barthelémy (in his Travels of Anacharsis) that the *Cryptia*, as originally instituted by Lycurgus, was simply a kind of introduction to military operations; in which the young men formed ambuscades, made *sorties* by night, &c., without any reference whatever to the Helots: and that the killing of that class, provoked perhaps at first by some sturdy resistance in these nocturnal sallies, only began to take place about the date of Plato's Treatise on Laws; and was, thenceforward, confounded with the chace of these unhappy slaves. If this be the case, Plutarch has erroneously blended the two institutions, to Lycurgus' indelible disgrace.

nesian war, relates that the Spartans selected such of them as were distinguished for their courage, to the number of two thousand or more, declared them free, crowned them with garlands, and conducted them to the temples of the gods : but soon afterward they all disappeared, and no one could, either at that time or subsequently, give any account in what manner they were destroyed. Aristotle particularly says, that the Ephori, as soon as they entered upon their office, declared war against the Helots, that they might be massacred under pretence of law. In other respects they treated them with extreme inhumanity. Sometimes they made them drink till they were intoxicated, and in that condition led them into the public halls, to show the young men the nature of drunkenness. They ordered them likewise to sing mean songs, and to dance ridiculous dances, but not to exhibit any that were genteel and graceful. When the Thebans, we are told, at a later period invaded Laconia⁷⁷, and took a great number of the Helots prisoners, they ordered them to sing the odes of Terpander, Aleman⁷⁸, or Spendon the Lacedæmonian ; but they excused themselves, alleging that it was forbidden by their masters. Those who say that a freeman in Sparta was most a freeman, and a slave most a slave, seem not ill to have considered the difference of states. But, in my opinion, it was in after-times that these cruelties took place among the Lacedæmonians ; chiefly after the great earthquake⁷⁹, when (as history informs us) the He-

⁷⁷ Under Epaminondas, after the battle of Leuctra, B. C. 371.*

⁷⁸ Aleman, a celebrated lyric poet about the 27th Olympiad, was born (as may be concluded from one of his own epigrams, quoted by Plutarch) at Sardis in Lydia; but carried thence at an early age to Lacedæmon, and employed as a slave. From this state of humiliation, however, his poetical talents procured him his release.*

⁷⁹ This earthquake occurred under Archidamus, nearly B. C. 500. Beside destroying the city, it swallowed up (as Diod. Sic., xi. 62., informs us) more than 20,000 men, and shook Tæygetus to its foundations. It is imputed, elsewhere, by Plutarch to the

lots joining the Messenians attacked them, did infinite damage to the country, and reduced the city to the lowest extremity. I can never ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable an act, as that of the 'ambuscade.' I would judge in this case by the mildness and justice, which appeared in the rest of his conduct, to which also the gods gave their sanction.

When his principal institutions had taken root in the manners of the people, and the government was come to such maturity as to be able to support and preserve itself, then (as Plato says of the Deity, that "he rejoiced when he had created the world, and given it it's first motion") was Lycurgus charmed with the beauty and magnitude of his political establishment, upon seeing it actually exemplified and moving on in due order. He was next desirous, as far as human wisdom could effect such a purpose, to render it immortal, and to deliver it down unchanged to the latest posterity. For this end he assembled all the people, and told them, that the provisions which he had already made for the state were indeed sufficient for virtue and happiness, but the greatest and most important matter was still behind, which he could not disclose to them till he had consulted the oracle: that they must therefore inviolably observe his laws, without altering any thing in them till he returned from Delphi; and that then he would acquaint them with the pleasure of Apollo. When they had all promised to do so, and desired him to set forward, he exacted an oath from the kings and senators, and afterward from all the citizens, that "they would abide by the present establishment till he returned." Upon this, he set off to Delphi.

When he arrived there, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and consulted the oracle, whether his laws were sufficient to promote virtue and secure the happiness of the state. Apollo answered, that "The

misconduct of the Spartans toward the daughters of Alcippus; and by Ælian (see note 76.) to their savage treatment of the Helots.*

“ laws were excellent, and that the city which adhered to the constitution he had established, would be the most glorious in the world.” This reply he committed to writing, and sent it to Sparta. He then offered another sacrifice, and embraced his friends and his son, determined never to release his citizens from their oath, but voluntarily there to put a period to his life⁸⁰, while he was yet of an age when life was not a burthen, nor death desirable, and while he was not in any one circumstance unhappy. He therefore destroyed himself by abstaining from food: persuaded that the very death of lawgivers should have it's use, and their decease, instead of being insignificant, possess it's share of virtue, and be considered as a great action⁸¹. To him indeed, whose performances were so illustrious, the conclusion of life was the crown of happiness; and his death was left guardian of those invaluable blessings, which he had procured for his countrymen through life, as they had taken an oath not to depart from his establishment till his return⁸². Neither was he deceived in his expectations. Sparta continued superior to the rest of Greece, both in it's government at home and it's reputation abroad, so long as it retained the institutions of Lycurgus; and this it did during the space of five hundred years, and the reign of fourteen successive kings, down to Agis the son of Archidamus. As for the appointment of the Ephori, this, far from weakening the constitution, supplied it with additional vigour; and, though it seemed to be established in favour of the people, it strengthened the aristocracy⁸³.

⁸⁰ Yet Lucian says, that Lycurgus died at the age of 85.

⁸¹ Upon this subject, again, how much more just was the opinion of Socrates; who decisively condemns suicide.*

⁸² After all this pompous account Plutarch himself acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed, how and where this great man died. That he starved himself, is improbable; but that he returned no more to his country, seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting, as well as to the current of history.

⁸³ This Aristotle denies (Pol. ii. 17.). Neither indeed is it

But, in the reign of Agis, money burst into Sparta; and with money came it's inseparable attendant, avarice. This was by means of Lysander; who, though himself incapable of being corrupted by wealth, filled his country with the love of it, and with luxury too. He brought both gold and silver from the wars⁸⁴, and thus violated the laws of Lycurgus. While these were in force, Sparta was not so much under the political regulations of a commonwealth, as the strict rules of a philosophical life: and as the poets feign of Hercules; that with only a club and a lion's skin he traversed the world, clearing it of lawless ruffians and cruel tyrants; so the Lacedæmonians with a piece of parchment⁸⁵ and a coarse coat kept Greece in a voluntary obedience, destroyed usurpation and tyranny in the states, put an end to wars and laid seditions asleep, often without either

likely, that officers invested with such a paramount authority should depress the democratical part of the constitution, from which they had originally sprung.*

⁸⁴ From Sestus, as we are informed by Diod. Sic. (xviii. 106.), he remitted 1500 talents to Sparta, with other valuable plunder; and Xenophon also acquaints us that, when he took Athens, he sent home many rich spoils, and 470 talents of silver. The arrival of this immense mass of wealth created great disputes at Sparta. Many celebrated Lysander's praises, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it: while others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, were of a quite different opinion. They looked upon the receipt of this treasure, as an open violation of the laws of Lycurgus: and expressed their apprehensions loudly, that in process of time they might, by a change in their manners, pay infinitely more for it than it was worth. The event justified their fears. See the Life of Lysander, in the sequel of this work.

⁸⁵ This was the Scytale, the nature and use of which Plutarch explains in the Life of Lysander. He there informs us, that when the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, exactly equal in breadth and thickness (Thucydides adds, that they were smooth and long); one they kept themselves, and the other they delivered to their officer. When they had any thing of moment which they would secretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one fold close upon another, they wrote their business on it, and sent it him; and he applying it to his own staff, the characters, which before were in the utmost confusion, became plain and intelligible.

shield or lance, and only by sending one ambassador, to whose directions all parties concerned immediately submitted. Thus bees, when their prince appears, compose their quarrels, and unite in one swarm *. So much did justice and good government prevail in that state, that I am surprised at those who say, the Lacedæmonians knew indeed how to obey, but not how to govern; and upon this occasion quote the saying of king Theopompus, who when one told him, that "Sparta was preserved by the good administration of it's kings," replied; "Nay, rather by the obedience of their subjects." It is certain, that people will not long continue pliant to those, who know not how to command; but it is the part of a good governor, to teach obedience. He, who knows how to lead well, is sure to be well followed: and as it is by the art of horsemanship, that a horse is made gentle and tractable, so it is by the abilities of him who fills the throne, that the people become ductile and submissive. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, that people not only endured, but even desired to be their subjects. They asked not of them either ships, money, or troops, but only a Spartan general. When they had received him, they treated him with the utmost honour and respect: so Gylippus was revered by the Sicilians, Brasidas by the Chalcidians, and Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaus by all the people of Asia ⁸⁶. These, and such as these, wherever they came, were called moderators and reformers, both of the magistrates and people; and Sparta itself was

* *Rege incolumi mens omnibus una est :*

Amisso rupère fidem. (Virg. Georg. iv. 213.)*

⁸⁶ Gylippus was sent by the Spartans to the defence of Syracuse, when absurdly invaded by the Athenians upon the suggestion of Alcibiades. The Chalcidians, in whose service Brasidas fell, were a people, not of Chalcis in Eubœa, but of the neighbourhood of Amphipolis. By 'the people of Asia' are meant those of Asia Minor or Ionia, and the neighbouring isles. Callicratidas was a Lacedæmonian admiral, about the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war.*

considered as a school of discipline, where the beauty of life and political order were taught in the utmost perfection. Hence Stratoniceus seems facetiously enough to have said, that "He would order the Athenians to have the conduct of mysteries; and processions; the Eleans to preside in games, as their particular province; and the Lacedæmonians to be beaten, if the others did amiss⁸⁷." This was spoken in jest: but Antisthenes, one of the scholars of Socrates, said (more seriously) of the Thebans, when he saw them pluming themselves upon their success at Leuctra, "They were just like so many school-boys, rejoicing that they had beaten their master."

It was not however the principal design of Lycurgus, that his city should govern many others. He considered it's happiness, like that of a private man, as flowing from virtue and self-consistency; and therefore so ordered and disposed it, that by the freedom and sobriety of it's inhabitants, and their having a sufficiency within themselves, it's continuance might be the more secure. Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and other writers upon government, have taken Lycurgus for their model; and these, though they left only an idea of something excellent, have attained great praise. Yet he who, not in idea and in words, but in fact produced a most inimitable form of government, and by showing a whole city of philosophers⁸⁸ confounded those, who imagine,

⁸⁷ Because the teachers should be answerable for the faults of their pupils. The pleasantry of the observation seems to be this: that, as the Lacedæmonians used to punish the parents or adopters of those young people that behaved amiss, now that they were the instructors of other nations, they ought to suffer for their pupils' faults. Bryan's Latin text has it, 'that the Lacedæmonians should beat them!' But there is no joke in that. (L.)

Stratoniceus was an Athenian musician, and celebrated by Athenæus (viii. 8.) for his bon-mots and general pleasantry. The superstition however of his countrymen survived his sarcasm, as we find it subsisting in the days of St. Paul. (Acts xvii. 22.) The Eleans were absorbed in their attention to the Olympic games.*

⁸⁸ Aristotle and Plato differ in this from Plutarch. Even Poly-

that the so-much-boasted strictness of a philosophic life is impracticable ; he, I say, stands in the rank of glory far before the founders of all the other Grecian states ⁸⁹. Aristotle is therefore of opinion, that the honours paid to him in Lacedæmon were far beneath his merit. Yet those honours were very considerable ; for he has a temple there, and they offer him a yearly sacrifice, as a god. It is also said that, when his remains were brought home, his tomb was struck with lightning : a seal of divinity, which no other man however eminent has had, except Euripides, who died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedon ⁹⁰. This was matter of particular satisfaction and triumph to the friends of Euripides, that the same thing should have befallen him after death, which had formerly happened to Lycurgus, the most venerable of men and the most favoured of heaven. Some say, Lycurgus died at Cirrha ⁹¹ : but Apollonius will have it, that he was brought to Elis and died there, and Timæus and Aristoxenus write, that he ended his days in Crete ; nay, Aristoxenus adds, that the Cretans show his tomb at Pergamia near the high road. He left an only son, we are told, named Antiorus ; who dying without issue, the family became extinct. His friends and relations observed his anniversary, which subsisted for many ages ; and the days, upon which they met for that

bius, who was so profound an admirer of the Spartan government, allows that, though the Spartans considered as individuals were wise and virtuous, in their collective capacity they paid but little regard to justice or moderation.

⁸⁹ Solon, though a person of a different temper, was not less disinterested than Lycurgus. He settled the Athenian commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and when he found resistance vain, went into voluntary exile. Lycurgus and Solon were both great men ; but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder genius ; the effects of which appeared in their respective commonwealths.

⁹⁰ Whither he had retired, to the court of Archelaus. He had a cenotaph, however, at Athens.*

⁹¹ A city near Delphi.

purpose, they called Lycurgidæ. Aristocrates⁹², the son of Hipparchus, relates that the friends of Lycurgus, with whom he sojourned and at last died in Crete, burned his body, and at his request threw his ashes into the sea. Thus he guarded against the possibility of his remains being carried back to Sparta by the Lacedæmonians, lest they should then think themselves absolved from their oath on the pretence that he was returned, and make innovations in the government. This is what we had to say of Lycurgus.

⁹² Author of a History of Lacedæmon, quoted by Athenæus (iii. 7.)*

THE
LIFE
OF
NUMA.

SUMMARY.

Uncertainty of the time, in which he lived : His origin. Death of Romulus. Interregnum. Election of Numa to the crown. His character. His reclus life gives birth to many fabulous reports. He at first refuses the crown. His father determines him to accept it. The Romans receive him with transport. He changes the government : His religious institutions. Qu. ? Whether, or not, he were the pupil of Pythagoras. His intercourse with the nymph Egeria. Establishment of the college of High-Priests. Of the Vestals, and the Sacred Fire. Privileges and penalties of the Vestals. Temple of Vesta : Goddess Libitina. The Salii and Feciales. Pestilence in Rome : Ancile. Numa's palace : Religious ceremonies. Relation between his institutions, and the precepts of Pythagoras. Influence of Religion upon the manners of the Romans. Numa introduces among them a taste for agriculture. Institutions of arts and trades : Law in favour of children. Reformation of the calendar. Temple of Janus. Happiness of Numa's reign. His death, and funeral. His Sacred Books. His glory increased under the following reigns.

THERE is likewise¹ a great diversity among historians about the time, in which king Numa lived, though some families seem to trace their genealogy up to him with sufficient accuracy. A certain writer

¹ As well as about the epoch of Lycurgus.*

however named Clodius, in his emendations of chronology, affirms that the ancient archives were destroyed, when Rome was sacked by the Gauls *; and that those, now shown as such, were forged in favour of some persons who were solicitous to stretch their lineage far back, and to deduce it from the most illustrious houses. Some say, that Numa was the scholar of Pythagoras²; but others contend, that he was unacquainted with the Grecian literature, alleging either that his own genius was sufficient to conduct him to excellence³, or that he was instructed by some barbarian⁴ philosopher superior to Pythagoras. Some again affirm, that Pythagoras the Samian flourished about five generations after the time of Numa⁵; but that Pythagoras of Sparta, who won the prize at the Olympic race in the sixteenth Olympiad (about the third year of which, Numa came to the throne) travelling into Italy, became acquainted with that prince, and assisted him in regulating the government. Hence many Spartan customs, taught by Pythagoras, were intermixed with those of Rome. But this mixture might have another cause, as Numa was of Sabine extraction, and the Sabines declare

* Upon this subject see the Preface to the last Edition of Ferguson's Roman Republic, dated 1805 (referred to by the Editor in his Preface), and a French Dissertation 'sur les cinq premier siècles de l'Histoire Romaine,' par Mons. L. D. B., Utrecht 1738.*

² Pythagoras the philosopher did not visit Italy until the fifty-first Olympiad, and four generations (as Dion. Halic. informs us, ii. 15.) after Numa. (L.) The same historian adds that, so far from his being engaged in philosophical studies at Crotona at the time of his election, that city was only built in the fourth year of his reign.*

³ *Suapte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus, quam disciplinâ tetricâ ac tristi veterum Sabinorum; quo genere nullum quondam in-corruptius fuit.* (Liv. i. 18.)*

⁴ So the Greeks and Romans pronounced every nation, situated beyond the confines of their own states.*

⁵ Livy (i. 18.) places him under Servius Tullius, and Cicero (de Orat. ii. 37.) still later, affirming that he came into Italy under Tarquinius Superbus.*

themselves to have been a Lacedæmonian colony⁶. It is difficult however exactly to adjust the times, particularly those that are only regulated by the names of the Olympic conquerors; of which (we are told) Hippias, the Elean, made a collection at a late period, without sufficient vouchers. We shall now relate what we have met with most remarkable concerning Numa, beginning from that point of time which is most suitable to our purpose.

It was in the thirty-seventh year from the building of Rome, and of the reign of Romulus, on the seventh of July (now called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*⁷) when that prince went out of the city to offer a solemn sacrifice, at a place called the Goats'-Marsh, in the presence of the senate and a considerable part of the people. Suddenly there happened a great alteration in the air, and the clouds burst in a storm of wind and hail. The rest of the assembly were struck with terror and fled, but Romulus disappeared, and could not be found either alive or dead. Upon this, the senators incurred a violent suspicion, and a report was propagated against them among the people, that having been long weary of the yoke of regal government, and desirous to get the power into their own hands, they had murdered the king: particularly, as he had for some time

⁶ The same Dionysius (ii. 11.) discovered in the history of the Sabines that, while Lycurgus was guardian to his nephew Eunomus (Charilaus, it should be) some of the Lacedæmonians, unable to endure the severity of his laws, fled into Italy and settled first at Pometia: whence several of them removed into the country of the Sabines, and uniting with that people taught them their customs; particularly those relating to the conduct of war, to fortitude, to patience, and to a frugal and abstemious manner of living. This colony, then, settled in Italy a hundred and twenty years before the birth of Numa.

⁷ This occurred before, in the Life of Romulus, p. 95. But the Life of Numa was, probably, written first; and what is here stated for the sake of perspicuity, in the subsequent account of Romulus became matter of necessity.*

treated them in an arbitrary and imperious manner. But they found means to obviate this suspicion, by paying divine honours to Romulus, as a person that had been privileged from the fate of other mortals, and merely removed to a happier scene. Moreover Proculus, a man of high rank, made oath that he had seen Romulus carried up to heaven in complete armour, and heard a voice commanding that he should be called Quirinus.

Fresh disturbances and tumults arose in the city about the election of a new sovereign; the latter inhabitants being not yet thoroughly incorporated with the first, the commonalty fluctuating and unsettled in itself, and the patricians full of animosity and jealousies of each other. All indeed agreed, that a sovereign should be appointed; but they differed and debated, not only about the person to be fixed upon, but from which of the two nations he should be selected. For neither could they, who with Romulus had built the city, endure that the Sabines, who had been admitted citizens and obtained a share of the lands, should attempt to command those from whom they had received such privileges; nor could the Sabines depart from their claim of giving a king in their turn to Rome, having this good argument in their favour that, upon the death of Tatius, they had suffered Romulus peaceably to enjoy the throne without a colleague. It was also to be considered, that they did not come as inferiors to join a superior people, but by their rank and number added strength and dignity to the city into which they had been received. These were the arguments, upon which they founded their pretensions. Lest this dispute should produce an utter confusion, while there was no king nor any steersman at the helm, the senators made an order that the hundred and fifty members who composed their body⁸, should each in their turns be attired in the

⁸ According to our author, in the *Life of Romulus*, the number of the senators was two hundred. Dionysius indeed says, that

robes of state, in the room of Quirinus offer the stated sacrifices to the gods, and despatch the whole public business, six hours in the night and six in the day. This distribution of time seemed well contrived, in point of equality among the regents, and the change of power from hand to hand prevented it's being obnoxious to the people, who saw the same person in one day and one night reduced from a king to a private man. An occasional administration of this kind the Romans call an 'Interregnum.'

But, though the matter was managed in so moderate and popular a way, the senators could not escape the suspicions and complaints of the people, that they were changing the government into an oligarchy, and as they retained the whole direction of affairs in their hands, were unwilling to have a king. At last it was agreed between the two parties, that one nation should choose a king out of the other. This was considered as the best means of putting a stop to the present contention, and of inspiring the king with an affection for both parties; since he would be gracious to the one because they had elected him, and to the other because they were his kindred and countrymen. The Sabines leaving the Romans to their option, they preferred a Sabine king of their own electing to a Roman elected by the Sabines. Consulting therefore among themselves⁹, they fixed upon Numa Pompilius a Sabine,

writers differed in this particular: some affirming, that one hundred, and others that only fifty, senators were added to the original number upon the union of the Sabines with the Romans. Of the manner of the Interregnum, Livy gives the most probable account. The senators, he says, divided themselves into decuries, or tens: these drew lots which should govern first, and successively enjoyed the supreme authority for five days; yet in such a manner, that one person only of the governing decury had the ensigns of sovereignty at a time.

⁹ The Interrex for the time being, having summoned the people, addressed them thus: "Romans, elect yourselves a king: the senate give their consent: and, if you choose a prince worthy to succeed Romulus, the senate will confirm your choice." With this condescension of the senate the people were so well pleased, that they declined the exercise of the privilege.

who was not of the number of those that had migrated to Rome, but so much celebrated for his virtue, that the Sabines received the nomination with even greater applause than the Romans themselves. When they had acquainted the people with their resolution, they sent the most eminent personages of both nations ambassadors, to entreat him to come and take upon him the government.

Numa was of Cures, a considerable city of the Sabines, from which the Romans together with the incorporated Sabines had the name of Quirites. He was the son of a person of distinction named Pomponius, and the youngest of four brothers. It seemed to have been by the direction of the gods, that he was born upon the twenty-first of April, the day on which Rome was founded by Romulus. His mind was naturally disposed to virtue, and he still farther subdued it by discipline, patience, and philosophy; not only purging it of the grosser and more infamous passions, but even of that ambition and rapacity, which were reckoned honourable among the barbarians; as being persuaded, that true fortitude consists in the conquest of the appetites by reason*. Upon this account, he banished all luxury and splendour from his house; and both the citizens and strangers found in him a faithful counsellor, and an upright judge. His hours of leisure he spent, not in pursuits of pleasure or schemes of profit, but in the worship of the gods, and in rational inquiries into their nature and power. His name became at length so illustrious that Tatius, the associate of Romulus in the kingdom, having an only daughter named Tatia, bestowed her upon him. He was not however so much elated with this match, as to remove to the court of his father-in-law, but continued in the country of the Sabines, paying his attentions to his own father, who was

* *Appetitus rationi pareat* is not more the heraldic motto, than the moral principle of one of the noblest of English families—the Wentworth Fitzwilliams.*

now grown old. Tatia was partaker of his retirement, and preferred the calm enjoyment of life, with her husband in privacy, to the honours and distinction in which she might have lived with her father at Rome. Thirteen years after their marriage, she died.

Numa then left the society of the city, and passed his time in wandering about alone in the sacred groves and lawns, in the most solitary places. Hence the report concerning the goddess Egeria chiefly took it's rise¹⁰; and it was believed that he avoided human conversation not from any inward sorrow or melancholy turn, but from his being admitted to that which was more venerable, to the honour of a celestial bride, and to the familiar intercourse of an enamoured divinity, which led him to happiness and knowledge more than mortal. This obviously resembles many of the ancient stories received and delivered down by the Phrygians of Atys¹¹, by the Bithynians of Herodotus, and by the Arcadians of Endymion; to whom might be added many others, supposed to have attained superior felicity, and to be beloved in an extraordinary manner by the gods.

¹⁰ Numa's inclination to solitude, and his custom of retiring into the secret places of the forest of Aricia, gave rise to several popular opinions. Some believed, that the nymph Egeria herself dictated to him the laws, both civil and religious, which he established. And indeed he himself affirmed it, in order to procure a divine sanction to them. But, as no great man is without aspersions, others have thought that, under this affected passion for woods and caves, was concealed another more real and less chaste. This gave occasion to that sarcasm of Juvenal, in speaking of the grove of Egeria,

Hic, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ. (iii. 15.)

Ovid says that, to remove her grief for the loss of Numa, Diana changed her into a fountain, which still bears her name. (Metam. xv.) (L.) This latter poet, and Plutarch who appears to have adopted his opinion, are the only writers that give her the credit of having been his wife. See also Dion. Halic. ii. 15.*

¹¹ Atys was said to have been beloved by the goddess Cybele, Endymion by Diana; but this Herodotus (or Rhodotus, as Dacier from his MS. calls him) we believe, is no where else mentioned.

And indeed it is reasonable enough to suppose, that the deity would not place his affection upon horses or birds, but rather upon human beings eminently distinguished by virtue; and that he neither dislikes, nor disdains to hold conversation with, a man of wisdom and piety. But that a divinity should be captivated with the external beauty of any human body, it is irrational to believe. The Egyptians make a distinction (by no means an absurd one) in this case, that it is not impossible for a woman to be impregnated by the approach of some divine spirit, but that a man can have no corporeal intercourse with a goddess. They do not however consider, that a mixture of beings mutually communicates to each the nature of the other. In short, the regard which the gods have for men, though like a human passion it is called love, must be employed in forming their manners and raising them to higher degrees of virtue. In this sense we may admit the assertion of the poets, that Phorbas¹², Hyacinthus, and Admetus were beloved by Apollo; and that Hippolytus, the Sicyonian, was equally in his favour: so that, whenever he sailed from Cirrha to Sicyon, the priestess, to signify Apollo's satisfaction, repeated this heroic verse;

He comes, again the much-loved hero comes.

¹² Phorbas was the son of Triopas, king of Argos. He delivered the Rhodians from a prodigious number of serpents, that infested their island; and particularly from a furious dragon, which had devoured a great many people. He was, therefore, supposed to be dear to Apollo, who had slain the Python. After his death he was placed in the heavens, with the dragon which he destroyed, in the constellation *Ophiuchus* or *Serpentarius*.

Hyacinthus was the son of Amyclas, founder of the city of Amyclæ, near Sparta. He was beloved by Apollo and Zephyrus, and was killed in a fit of jealousy by the latter, who with a puff of wind caused a quoit thrown by Apollo to fall upon his head. After this, he was changed into a flower, which still bears his name. (Pausan. Lacon. iii. 19., and Ovid. Metam. x. 5.) For an account of the annual celebration instituted to his honour at Amyclæ, see also Athenæus iv. 4.

Admetus was the son of Pheres, king of Thessaly. Apollo, it is fabled, kept his sheep.

It is also fabled, that Pan was in love with Pindar¹³, and his poetry; and that Archilochus and Hesiod¹⁴, after their death, were honoured by the heavenly powers as having been dear to the Muses. Sophocles likewise (we are told) was blessed in his life-time with the conversation of the god Æsculapius, of which many proofs still remain; and another deity procured him burial¹⁵. If then we admit that these were so highly favoured, shall we affirm that Zaleucus¹⁶, Minos, Zoroaster, Numa, and Lycurgus, kings and lawgivers, were not similarly happy? Nay, we shall rather think, that the gods might seriously converse with such excellent persons as these, to instruct and encourage them in their great attempts; whereas, if they indulged poets and musicians in the same grace, it must have been by way of diversion. To such however as are of a different opinion I shall say, with Bacchylides¹⁷,

The way is broad.

For it is no unplaussible account of the matter which

¹³ Pindar had a particular devotion for the god Pan, and therefore took up his abode near the temple of Rhea and Pan. He composed the hymns, which the Theban virgins sang on the festival of that deity; and, it is said, he had the happiness to hear Pan himself singing one of his odes.

¹⁴ Archilochus was slain by a soldier of Naxos (called Calcondes, or Archias) who was obliged by the priestess of Apollo to make expiation, for having killed a man consecrated to the Muses. As for Hesiod (who had fallen a victim to unjust suspicions, being cast into the Daphnus, carried by it's current into the sea, and thence conveyed by dolphins to Rhyum, a promontory of the gulf of Corinth) the Orchomenians a people of Bœotia, being terribly afflicted by a plague, were ordered by the oracle to remove his bones into their own country; upon which, their sufferings ceased.

¹⁵ Sophocles died at Athens, while Lysander was carrying on the siege of the city; and Bacchus is said to have ordered the Spartan general, in a dream, 'to permit the new Athenian Siren to be interred at Decælea, the burial-place of his ancestors:' with which, upon a repetition of the command, he thought fit to comply. (See Pausan. i. 21., Plin. II. N. vii. 29.)

¹⁶ Zaleucus gave laws, as from Minerva, to the Locrians in Magna Græcia; Zoroaster, one of the magi and king of the Bactrians, to his own subjects: and Minos to the people of Crete.

¹⁷ This poet, like Pindar, celebrated the victories of Hiero in the Grecian games, and sometimes even more successfully than his

others give, when they tell us, that Lycurgus, Numa, and other eminent men, finding it difficult to manage their respective states and make alterations in their governments, pretended commissions from heaven, which were salutary at least to those for whom they were invented.

Numa was now in his fortieth year, when ambassadors came from Rome to offer him the kingdom. The speakers were Proculus and Velesus, whom the people had previously been likely to select for the royal dignity, the Romans being attached to Proculus, and the Sabines to Velesus. As they imagined, that Numa would gladly embrace his good fortune, they made but a short speech. They found it, however, no easy matter to persuade him; but were obliged to use much entreaty to draw him from the peaceful retreat, of which he was so much enamoured, to the government of a city born as it were and brought up in war. In the presence therefore of his father, and one of his kinsmen named Marcius, he gave them the following answer: “ Every
“ change of human life has it’s dangers; but when
“ a man has a sufficiency for every thing, and there
“ is nothing in his present situation to justify complaint, what but madness can lead him from his
“ usual track of life (which, if it has no farther
“ advantage, has at least that of certainty) to experience another, as yet doubtful and unknown?
“ But the dangers attending this government are beyond an uncertainty, if we may form a judgement
“ from the fortunes of Romulus, who laboured under the suspicion of having taken off Tatius his
“ colleague, and was supposed to have lost his own
“ life with equal injustice. Yet Romulus is celebrated as a person of divine origin, supernaturally
“ nourished when an infant, and most wonderfully
“ preserved. For my part, I am only of mortal

mighty rival. His verses were in great esteem with the emperor Julian, and often quoted by him. (*Amm. Mac. xxv. 4.*)*

“ race, and you are sensible my nursing and educa-
“ tion pretend to nothing extraordinary. As for my
“ character, if it has any distinction, it has been
“ gained in a manner not likely to qualify me for
“ the duties of royalty, in scenes of repose and em-
“ ployments by no means arduous. My genius is
“ inclined to peace, my love has long been fixed
“ upon it, and I have studiously avoided the confu-
“ sion of war: I have also drawn others, so far as
“ my influence extended, to the worship of the
“ gods, to mutual offices of friendship, and to spend
“ the rest of their time in tilling the ground and
“ feeding cattle. The Romans may have unavoid-
“ able wars left upon their hands by their late so-
“ vereign, for the maintaining of which you have
“ need of one, as his successor, more active and
“ more enterprising. Besides, the people are of a
“ warlike disposition, elevated by victory, and ob-
“ viously anxious to extend their conquests. Of
“ course, therefore, a person who has set his heart
“ upon the promoting of religion and justice, and
“ drawing men off from the love of violence and
“ war, would soon become ridiculous and contemp-
“ tible to a city, that has more occasion for a gene-
“ ral than a king.”

Numa in this manner declining the crown, the Romans on the other hand exerted all their endeavours to obviate his objections, and implored him not to throw them back again into confusion and civil war, as there was no other whom both parties would unanimously elect. When the ambassadors had retired, his father and his friend Marcius privately urged him, by all the arguments in their power, to receive this noble and valuable gift of heaven: “ If, contented (said they) with a compe-
“ tence, you are indifferent to riches and unambi-
“ tious of sovereignty, having a higher and better
“ distinction in virtue; yet consider that a king is
“ the minister of God, who now rouses and no longer
“ permits to lie dormant your eminent love of jus-

“ tice*. Decline not therefore an authority, which
 “ to a wise man affords opportunities for heroic and
 “ good actions ; where dignity may be added to re-
 “ ligion, and men may be brought over to piety, in
 “ the easiest and readiest way, by the influence of
 “ the prince. Tatius, though a stranger, was be-
 “ loved by this people, and they pay divine honours
 “ to the memory of Romulus. Besides, who knows,
 “ as they are victorious, but they may be now sa-
 “ tiated with war ; and, having no farther wish for
 “ triumphs and spoils, may be desirous of a mild and
 “ just governor for the establishing of good laws
 “ and the settling of peace ? But, should they be
 “ ever so ardently inclined to war, yet is it not
 “ better to turn their violence another way, and to
 “ be the centre of union and friendship between
 “ the country of the Sabines, and so great and flour-
 “ ishing a state as that of Rome ?” These induc-
 “ ments, we are told, were strengthened by auspicious
 “ omens, and by the zeal and ardour of his fellow-
 “ citizens ; who, as soon as they had learned the sub-
 “ ject of the embassy, went in a body to entreat him
 “ to take upon him the government, as the only means
 “ to appease all dissensions, and effectually incorporate
 “ the two nations into one.

When he had determined to go, he offered sacri-
 fice to the gods, and then set forward to Rome.
 Struck with love and admiration of the man, the
 senate and people met him on the way : the women
 welcomed him with blessings and shouts of joy :
 the temples were crowded with sacrifices ; and so uni-
 versal was the satisfaction, that the city might seem
 to have received a kingdom, instead of a king.
 When they were come into the Forum, Spurius Vet-
 tius, whose turn it then was to be Interrex, put it
 to the vote whether Numa should be king, and all
 the citizens with one voice agreed to it. The robes,
 and other distinctions of royalty, were then offered

* Ὑπερστανεὶς γὰρ Θεὸς τοῦ βασιλευσὶν ἐγγυμνός ἔσται ποιητής. (Wakofield, Silv. Crit. iii. 42.)*

him; but he commanded them to stop, as his authority yet wanted the sanction of heaven. Taking therefore with him the priests and augurs, he went up to the Capitol, which the Romans at that time called 'the Tarpeian rock.' There the chief of the augurs covered the head of Numa¹⁸, and turned his face toward the south; then standing behind him, and laying his right hand upon his head, he offered up his devotions and looked around him, in hopes of seeing birds or some other signal from the gods. An incredible silence reigned among the people, anxious for the event and lost in suspense, till the auspicious birds appeared and passed on the right hand. Upon this Numa took the Royal Robe, and went down from the mount to the people, who received him with loud acclamations, as the most pious of men and most beloved of the gods.

His first act of government was to discharge the body of three hundred men, called Celeres¹⁹, whom Romulus always kept about his person as guards; for he chose neither to distrust those who put a confidence in him, nor to reign over a people that could distrust him. In the next place, to the priests of Jupiter and Mars he added one for Romulus, whom he stiled Flamen Quirinalis. Flamines was a common name for priests before that time, and it is said,

¹⁸ So it is in the text of Plutarch, as it now stands; but it appears from Livy (i. 8.), that the augur covered his own head, not that of Numa, *Augur ad læxum ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit*, &c. And indeed the augur always wrapped his head in a gown peculiar to his office, called Læna, when he made his observations. Mezeray reconciles these writers, and removes the seeming mistake of Plutarch, by a reading which Frances Robortel had found in an ancient MS., τοῦ μὲν τοῦ μισθωτέρου τρέφας, ἐγκεκαλυμμένος αὐτός, καὶ παρασας ἐξοπισθεν. If this be considered only as an emendation, it is a very good one.

¹⁹ Dion. Halic. (ii. 16.) says, that Numa introduced no alterations into the institutions of Romulus, as deeming them well adapted for their purposes;* and that therefore, though he did not make use of the Celeres as guards, he retained them as inferior ministers, who were to take care of the sacrifices under the direction of the tribunes, their former officers.

to have been corrupted from *Pilamines*, a term derived from *Piloi*, which in Greek signifies ‘caps’²⁰ (for they wore a kind of caps, or hoods, on their heads); and the Latin language had then many more Greek words mixed with it, than it has at present²¹. Thus royal mantles were by the Romans called *Lænæ*, which Juba assures us was from the Greek *Chlænæ*; and the name of *Camillus*²², given to the youth who served in the temple of Jupiter, and who was to have both his parents alive, was the same which some of the Greeks give to Mercury, on account of his being an attendant upon that god.

Numa, having settled these matters with a view to establish himself in the people’s good graces, immediately afterward attempted to soften them, as iron is softened by fire; and to bring them, from a violent and warlike disposition, to a juster and more gentle temper. For, if any city ever was “in a state of inflammation” (as Plato expresses it) Rome certainly was; being composed at first of the most hardy and resolute men, whom boldness and despair had driven thither from all quarters, nourished and matured to power by a series of wars, and strengthened even by blows and conflicts, as piles fixed in the ground become firmer under con-

²⁰ Others think they took their names from the flame-coloured tufts, which they had on their caps; (or from the *filum lænæ*, which they wore on their heads, when the heat of the weather rendered their caps inconvenient, as they were forbidden to appear without some covering.)* They were denominated from the particular god, to whom their ministry was confined, as *Flamen Dialis*, the Priest of Jupiter; *Flamen Martialis*, the Priest of Mars; &c.

²¹ Being chiefly formed from the old Æolic Greek, though time and successive improvements gave it at last a very different appearance.*

²² *Camillus* is derived from the Bæotic *καθμιλος*, which properly signifies ‘a servitor.’ In every temple there was a youth of quality, whose business it was to minister to the priest. It was necessary, that the father and mother of the youth should be both alive; for which reason Plutarch uses the word *αμφιδαλν*, which the Latins call *patrimus et matrimus*.

cussion²³. Persuaded that no ordinary means were sufficient, to form and reduce so high-spirited and untractable a people to feelings of peace, he called in the assistance of religion. By sacrifices, religious dances, and processions*, which he appointed and in which he himself officiated, he contrived to mix the charms of festivity and social pleasure with the solemnity of the ceremonies. Thus he soothed their minds, and calmed their fierceness and martial fire. Sometimes also, by announcing to them prodigies from heaven, by reports of dreadful apparitions and menacing voices, he inspired them with terror, and humbled them with superstition. This was the principal cause of the report, that he drew his wisdom from the sources of Pythagoras: for a great part of the philosophy of the latter, as well as of the government of the former, consisted in religious attentions and the worship of the gods. It is likewise said, that this solemn appearance and air of sanctity were copied from the same authority. That philosopher had so far tamed an eagle that, by pronouncing certain words, he could stop it in it's flight, or bring it down to the ground; and, passing through the multitudes assembled at the Olympic games, he showed them his golden thigh; beside other arts and actions, by which he pretended to something supernatural. This led Timon²⁴ the Phliasian to write,

To catch applause, Pythagoras affects
A solemn air and grandeur of expression.

²³ This is parallel to Annibal's observation upon the same people nearly five centuries afterward. (Her. Od. iv. 4. 60.)

*Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso
Dacit opes unumque ferro.**

* To this passage Dr. Middleton refers, as proving in conjunction with the pomp and solemnity of Popish 'Holidays, and especially their religious processions,' that Rome 'is still the same Rome which old Numa first tamed and civilised by the arts of religion.' (Letter, p. 185.)

²⁴ The author of the Silli, a species of satire so denominated from Silenus, in which he bore hard upon the philosophers for their dogmatism. (Diog. Laert. viii.)*

But Numa feigned, that some goddess or mountain-nymph (as we have already observed) favoured him with her private regards, and that he had moreover frequent conversations with the Muses. To the latter he ascribed most of his revelations; and there was one in particular, that he called Tacita (as much as to say, the ‘muse of silence’²⁵) whom he taught the Romans to distinguish with peculiar and distinguished veneration. By this, too, he seemed to show his knowledge and approbation of the Pythagorean precept of taciturnity.

His regulations concerning images likewise seem to have some relation to the doctrine of Pythagoras; who was of opinion that the First Cause was not an object of sense, nor liable to passion, but invisible *, incorruptible, and discernible only by the mind²⁶. Thus Numa forbade the Romans to represent the Deity in the form either of man, or of beast. Nor was there among them, formerly, any image or statue of the Divine Being: During the first hundred and seventy years indeed they built temples, and other sacred domes, but placed in them no figure of any kind; as persuaded, that it is impious to represent things divine by what is perishable, and that we can have no conception of God but by the understanding²⁷. His sacrifices, also, resembled

²⁵ The common reading of the text is, *οὐκ ὡσαύτην ἡ νεάν*. The word *νεάν* signifies young; but it should, undoubtedly, be read *νεαν* ‘mute,’ not only from the analogy of the sense and the conjecture of Stephens, but on the authority of a MS. In the city of Erythræ there was a temple of Minerva, where the priestess was called Hesychia, that is, the ‘composed’ or ‘the silent.’

* *Ἀσφαλον, ὅς ἐστι ἀκίνητον, καὶ ἀκρίστον, καὶ ἀνοητόν, κ. τ. λ.* (Wakefield, *Silv. Crit.* v. 139.)*

²⁶ This is the *solâ reverentiâ vident*, which Tacitus (*De Mor. Germ.* 9.) ascribes to the barbarous Germans, and still more exactly the *mente solâ unumque numen intelligunt*, which he applies to the more civilised Jews (*Hist.* v. 5.)*

²⁷ In the judicious M. Ricard, the Abbé now and then subdues the Commentator. What need here for a note of censure upon the more sensible Roman pagans; to excuse the image-worship of the Romish Christians, as ‘furnishing an assistance to human infirmity in rising to invisible objects, and justified forsooth in

the Pythagorean worship: For they were without any effusion of blood, consisting chiefly of flour, libations of wine, and other very simple and unexpensive things.

To these arguments other circumstances are added, to prove that these two great men were acquainted with each other. One of which is, that Pythagoras was enrolled a citizen of Rome. This account we have in an address to Antenor from Epicharmus, a writer of comedy and a very ancient author, who was himself of that philosopher's school²⁸. Another is, that Numa having four sons²⁹ called one of them Mamercus, after the name of a son of Pythagoras. From him likewise, they tell us, the Æmilian family is descended, which is one of the noblest in Rome; the king having given him the surname of Æmilius, on account of his gentle and graceful manner of speaking. And I have myself been informed, by several persons in Rome, that the

all ages and nations, from the elegant sculptures of heathen mythology to the hideous monsters of the savages of New-Zealand!

Dr. Middleton, in his 'Letter from Rome,' bitterly inveighs against the Popish idolatry, and quotes several laws from Gothopedus' 'Commentary on the State of Paganism under the Christian Emperors,' to prove how anxiously they proscribed this species of impiety. *Pæne capitis subjugari præcipimus, quos simulacra colere constiterit.* * * *In nullâ urbe sensu carentibus simulacris vel accendat lumina, imponat thura, scita suspendat.* * * *Si quis verò mortali opere facta et ævum passura simulacra imposito thure venerabitur—is, utpote violatæ religionis reus, eâ domo seu possessione multabitur, in quâ eum constiterit gentilitiâ superstitione formulatum, &c.* See p. 157.*

²⁸ As Πυθαγορικῆς διατριβῆς μασίσχηκός does not necessarily signify 'scholar to Pythagoras,' we have rendered it 'of the school of Pythagoras' or 'a Pythagorean,' to avoid involving Plutarch in a glaring anachronism. According to the Marm. Ox., Epicharmus (to whom was ascribed the invention of comedy) flourished B. C. 472; and it certainly must have been about that time, because he was at the court of Hiero.

²⁹ Some writers, to countenance the vanity of certain noble families in Rome, in deducing their genealogy from Numa, have given that prince four sons. But the common opinion is, that he had only one daughter, named Pompilia. The Æmiliî were one of the most considerable families in Rome, and branched into the Lepidi, the Pauli, and the Papi. The word Æmylus (in Greek, αἰμυλος) signifies 'gentle, graceful.'

Romans being commanded by the oracle to erect two statues³⁰, one to the wisest and the other to the bravest of the Grecians, set up in brass the figures of Pythagoras and Alcibiades. But, as these matters are very dubious, to support or explore them farther would look like the juvenile affectation of dispute.

To Numa is attributed the institution of that high order of priests called Pontifices³¹, over which he is said to have presided himself. Some say, they were called Pontifices, as employed in the service of those 'powerful' gods that govern the world; for *potens*, in the Roman language, signifies 'powerful.' Others, from their being ordered by the law-giver to perform such professional offices as were in their 'power,' and standing excused when there was some great impediment. But most writers assign a ridiculous³² reason for the term, as if they were so called from their offering the sacrifices upon

³⁰ According to Pliny (H. N. xxxiv. 5.) it was in the time of their war with the Samnites, that the Romans were ordered by the Pythian Apollo to set up these statues: they were accordingly placed in the comitium, and remained there till the dictatorship of Sylla. The oracle, by this direction, probably intimated that the Romans, if they desired to be victorious, should imitate the wisdom and valour of the Greeks.

³¹ Numa created four, who were all patricians. But, A. U. C. 453 or 454, four plebeians were added to the number. Under Sylla, they were increased to fifteen. The king himself is here asserted to have been the chief of them, or Pontifex Maximus; though Livy (i. 20.) attributes that honour to another person of the same name, viz. Numa Marcius, the son of Marcius one of the senators. Plutarch was, probably, deceived by the co-incidence of names. Numa however, who was of so religious a turn, might reserve the chief dignity in the priesthood to himself, as kings had done in the first ages of the world, and as the emperors of Rome did at a still later period.

³² And yet this is regarded both by Varro (L. L. iv.) and by Dion. Halic. (ii. 20.) as the most probable etymology. The former particularly states, that the *Pons Sublicius* was at first built, and afterward frequently repaired, under their direction. These specific public labours were always preceded by sacrifices, in compliment to the divinity of the river. Under Augustus this function was transferred from the pontiffs to the quæstors.*

‘ the bridge ’ (by the Latins called *pontem*), which were looked upon as their most sacred and ancient ceremonies. These priests, too, are said to have been commissioned to keep the bridges in repair, as one of the most indispensable parts of their holy office. For the Romans considered it as an execrable impiety to demolish the wooden bridge³³, which (we are told) was built without iron, and put together with pins of wood only, by the direction of some oracle³⁴. The stone-bridge was built many ages afterward, when Æmilius was quæstor. Some, however, inform us that the wooden bridge was not finished in the time of Numa, having had the last hand put to it by Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter.

The Pontifex Maximus, chief of these priests, is interpreter of all sacred rites, or rather a superintendent of religion; having the care not only of public sacrifices, but even of private rites and offerings, forbidding the people to depart from the stated ceremonies, and teaching them how to honour and propitiate the gods³⁵. He had also the inspection of the holy virgins, called Vestals. For to Numa is ascribed the sacred establishment of the vestal virgins³⁶, and the whole service with respect to the perpetual fire, which they watch continually. This office seems appropriated to them, either because fire, which is of a pure and incorruptible nature,

³³ This is the celebrated *Pons Sublicius*, still preserved and treated with reverence, which joined the Janiculum to the city. See Dion. Halic. (iii. 14.) and Lumisden’s Account of Modern Rome.*

³⁴ This mode of structure Pliny (xxxvi. 15.) ascribes not to an oracle, but to the inconvenience which the Romans found in breaking it down, when connected with iron cramps, in the war against Porsena.*

³⁵ He was vested likewise with supreme authority in all causes relating to religion, had an absolute jurisdiction over all magistrates connected with him in his spiritual administration, and was amenable to the king alone. (Dion. Halic. ii. 20.)*

³⁶ Or rather the building of the temple of Vesta (Id. ii. 17.); for Rhea Sylvia, the mother of Romulus, was a vestal of Alba.*

should be watched by persons untouched and undefiled; or else because virginity, like fire³⁷, is barren and unfruitful. Agreeably to this last reason, at the places in Greece where the sacred fire is preserved unextinguished, as at Delphi and Athens, not virgins but widows past child-bearing have the charge of it. If it happen by any accident to be put out, as the sacred lamp is said to have been at Athens, under the tyranny of Aristion³⁸; at Delphi, when the temple was burned by the Medes³⁹; and at Rome, in the Mithridatic and also in the civil war⁴⁰, when not only the fire was extinguished, but the altar itself overturned; it is not to be lighted again from another fire, but new fire is to be gained by drawing a pure and unpolluted flame from the beams of the sun. This is done generally with concave vessels of brass, formed by the conic section of a rectangled isosceles triangle, whose lines from the circumference meet in one central point. These, being placed against the sun, cause it's rays to con-

³⁷ To reconcile this with a subsequent passage (in the Life of Camillus) where Plutarch represents fire as 'the principle and origin of all things, and the soul of the world,' M. Ricard suggests, that the latter sentiment applies to it only when combined with other elements; and that singly considered it is, as here stated, barren and even destructive.*

³⁸ This Aristion held out a long time against Sylla, who besieged and took Athens in the time of the Mithridatic war. Aristion himself committed innumerable outrages in the city, and was at last the cause of it's being sacked and plundered. The sacred fire was kept in the temple of Minerva.

³⁹ Under Xerxes.*

⁴⁰ Livy informs us (Suppl. lxxxvi. 6.) that toward the conclusion of the civil war between Sylla and Marius, Mutius Scævola the pontiff was killed at the entrance of the temple of Vesta; but we do not find, that the sacred fire was put out. Though Lucan says, he fell near the altar, and that his blood almost extinguished the hallowed flame. Even when that temple was burned, near the end of the first Punic war, A. U. C. 512, L. Cecilius Metellus the pontiff rushed through the flames, and brought off the Palladium and other sacred things, though with the loss of his sight. (L.) It was likewise burned again, about the end of Commodus' reign. Plutarch in the present instance, perhaps, confounds this temple with the Capitol. (Life of Sylla.)*

verge in the centre: which, by reflection acquiring the force and activity of fire, rarefy the air, and immediately kindle such light and dry matter as they think fit to apply⁴¹. Some are of opinion, that the sacred virgins have the care of nothing but the perpetual fire. But others say they have some private rites besides⁴², kept from the sight of all but their own body; upon which subject I have stated, in the *Life of Camillus*, as much as it was proper to discover, or to declare.

It is reported, that at first only two virgins were consecrated by Numa, whose names were Gegania and Verania; and afterward two others, Canuleia and Tarpeia, to whom Servius added two more; and that number has continued to this time. The vestals were obliged by the king to preserve their virginity for thirty years. The first ten years they spent in learning their office, the next ten in practising what they had learned, and the third in instructing others. At the conclusion of this time, such as chose it had liberty to marry, and quitting their sacred employment to take up some other. We have account of but very few, however, that accepted this indulgence, and those did not prosper. They generally became a prey to repentance and regret, upon which account the rest, inspired with a religious fear, were willing to end their lives under the same institution⁴³.

⁴¹ Burning glasses of refraction were invented by Archimedes, who flourished five hundred years after Numa. (L.) Hence (M. Ricard suggests) the account of Festus, who represents the fire as regenerated by friction, might for the first five centuries after it's institution be correct. This passage is the subject of a very learned memoir by M. Dupuy (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, xxxv. 395.) in which he proves, in opposition to Meziriac, that these vessels were not parabolic, &c.*

⁴² As those connected with the Palladium, the statues, &c. of the gods of Samothrace (*Life of Camillus*). See also Dion, *Halic.* ii. 17.*

⁴³ Surely for this we may find a sufficient cause in the advanced age, at which only they were permitted to marry, without referring it to any supposed resentment of heaven.*

The king honoured them with great privileges; such as, power to make a will during their father's life, and to transact their other affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children at present. When they went abroad, they had the fasces carried before them⁴⁴; and, if by accident they met a person led to execution, he was immediately reprieved; But the vestal was to make oath⁴⁵, that it was by chance she met him, and not by design. It was death to go under the chair, in which they were carried.

For smaller offences these virgins were punished with stripes; and sometimes the Pontifex Maximus gave them the discipline naked, in some dark place, and under the cover of a veil: but she, that had broken her vow of chastity, was buried alive⁴⁶ by the Colline gate. There, within the walls, is raised a little mount of earth, called in Latin 'Agger;' under which is prepared a small cell, with steps to descend into it. In this are placed a bed, a lighted lamp, and some slight provisions, such as bread, water, milk, and oil; as they thought it impious to take off a person, consecrated with the most awful ceremonies, by such a death as that of famine⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ This honour was not conferred upon them by Numa, but by the triumvirate A. U. C. 712. (L.) The *jus trium liberorum* was granted by Augustus, to encourage population after the ruinous effects of the civil wars.*

⁴⁵ Neither a vestal, nor a priest of Jupiter, was obliged to take an oath. They were believed without that solemnity. (L.) They might however make their depositions upon oath, if they chose; but they were directed to do it rarely, and to swear only by their own goddess Vesta.*

⁴⁶ In Alba they were only scourged for this offence with rods. (Dion. Halic. i. 17.) Numa heightened the penalty to stoning; and at last Tarquinius Priscus (Id. iii. 20.) condemned them to be buried alive.*

⁴⁷ There seems to be something improbable and inconsistent in this. Of what use could provisions be to the vestal, who when the grave was closed upon her, must expire through want of air? Or, if she could make use of those provisions, was she not at last to die by famine? Perhaps, what Plutarch here calls provisions, were materials for some sacrifice. (See Lipsius on Vestals, xiii.)

The criminal is carried to punishment through the Forum, in a litter well covered without, and bound up in such a manner that her cries cannot be heard. The people silently make way for the litter, and follow it with marks of extreme sorrow and dejection. There is no spectacle more dreadful than this, nor any day which the city spends in a more melancholy manner. When the litter comes to the place appointed, the officers loose the cords, the high-priest with hands lifted up toward heaven offers some private prayers just before the fatal minute, then takes out the prisoner who is covered with a veil, and places her upon the steps which lead down into the cell: after this, he retires with the rest of the priests, and when she is gone down the steps are taken away, and the cell is covered with earth; so that the place is made level with the rest of the mount. Thus were punished vestals, who failed to preserve their chastity.

It is also said, that Numa built the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire was to be kept⁴⁸, in an orbicular form: not intending to represent the figure of the earth, as if that were meant by Vesta; but the frame of the universe, in the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the element of fire⁴⁹, and give it the names of Vesta and Unity. The earth they suppose not to be without motion, nor situated in the centre of the world, but to make it's revolution round the sphere of fire, being neither one of the most valuable nor one of the principal parts of the great machine. Plato likewise, in his old age, is reported to have been of the same opinion, assigning the earth a different situation from the

⁴⁸ Dion. Halic. is of opinion, and probably he is right, that Numa built the temple of Vesta in a round form, to represent the figure of the earth; for by Vesta was meant the earth. With him Festus agrees.

⁴⁹ That this was the opinion of Philolaüs, and other Pythagoreans, is well known: but Diogenes Laërtius tells us, that Pythagoras himself held the earth to be the centre.

centre, and leaving that as the place of honour to a nobler element.

The Pontifices were, moreover, to prescribe the form of funeral rites to such as consulted them. Numa himself taught them to look upon the last offices to the dead, as no pollution. He instructed them to pay all due honours to the infernal gods, as receiving the most excellent part of us; and more particularly to venerate the goddess Libitina, as he called her, who presides over funeral solemnities: whether he meant by her Proserpine, or rather Venus⁵⁰, as some of the most learned Romans suppose; not improperly ascribing to the same divine power the care of our birth, and of our death.

He himself also fixed the time of mourning, according to the different ages of the deceased. He allowed none for a child, that died under three years of age; and for one older the mourning was only to last as many months as he had lived years, provided those did not exceed ten. The longest mourning was not to continue above ten months, after which space widows were permitted to marry again: but she who took another husband before that term was out, was obliged by this decree to sacrifice a cow with calf⁵¹.

⁵⁰ This Venus Libitina was the same with Proserpine: She was called at Delphi Venus Epitumbia. Pluto was the Jupiter of the shades below; and there too they had their Mercury.

⁵¹ Such an unnatural sacrifice was intended to deter the widows from marrying again before the expiration of their mourning. Romulus' year consisting but of ten months, when Numa afterward added two months more; he did not alter the time which he had before settled for mourning; and therefore, though after that time we often meet with *Luctus annuus*, or 'a year's mourning,' we must take it only for the old year of Romulus.

The ordinary colour, used alike by both sexes to express their grief, was black, without trimmings. But after the establishment of the empire, when abundance of colours came into fashion, the old primitive white grew so much into contempt, that it became peculiar to the women for their mourning. (Plut. Quæst. Rom.) (L.) It is now the colour of mourning among the Chinese.*

Numa instituted several other sacred orders; two of which I shall mention, the Salii⁵² and the Feciales⁵³, as affording particular proofs of his piety. The Feciales, who were like the *Irenophylakes*, or 'guardians of the peace,' among the Greeks, had this denomination, I apprehend, as expressive of their office; for they were to 'act' and mediate between the two parties, to decide their differences by reason, and not to suffer them to go to war till all hopes of justice were lost. The Greeks give the name of *Irene* to such a peace, as puts an end to strife not by mutual violence, but in a rational way. In like manner, the Feciales or heralds were often despatched to such nations, as had injured the Romans, to persuade them to entertain more equitable sentiments: if they rejected their application, they called the gods to witness, with imprecations against themselves and their country, if their cause was not just; and this was their declaration of war. But, if the Feciales refused their sanction, it was not lawful for any Roman soldier, nor even for the king

There were several accidents, which often occasioned the concluding of a public mourning, or the suspension of a private one, before the fixed time; such as the dedication of a temple, the solemnity of some public games or festivals, the censorial lustration, and the discharging of a vow made by a magistrate or a general. They likewise put off their mourning-habit when a father, a brother, or a son returned from captivity, or when some of the family were advanced to a considerable employment.

⁵² The Salii were the guardians of the Ancilia, or twelve shields, hung up in the temple of Mars. They took their name from their dancing in the celebration of an annual festival, instituted in memory of a miraculous shield which, as Numa pretended, fell down from heaven. (L.) See below. They were originally twelve in number, and selected from the patrician youth of the finest figure. (Dion. Halic. ii. 18.)*

⁵³ Dion. Halic. finds them among the Aborigines; and Numa is said to have borrowed the institution from the people of Latium. He appointed twenty Feciales, chosen out of the most eminent families in Rome, and settled them in a college. The *pater patratus*, who made peace or denounced war, was probably one of their body selected for that purpose, who had both a father and a son alive. Liv. i. 24. 32., Dion. Halic. ii. 19., and Aul. Gell. xvi. 14.

himself, to begin hostilities. War was to commence with their approbation, as being the proper judges whether or not it was just; and then the supreme magistrate was to deliberate, concerning the proper means of carrying it on. The great misfortunes, which befel the city from the Gauls, are said to have proceeded from the violation of these sacred rites. For, when those barbarians were besieging Clusium, Fabius Ambustus was sent ambassador to their camp, with proposals of peace in favour of the besieged. But, receiving a harsh answer, he thought himself released from his diplomatic character, and rashly taking up arms for the Clusians challenged the bravest man in the Gaulish army. He proved victorious indeed in the combat, for he killed his adversary, and carried off his spoils: but the Gauls, having discovered who he was, sent a herald to Rome to accuse him of having borne arms against them, contrary to treaties and good faith, and without a declaration of war. Upon this, the Feciales exhorted the senate to deliver him up to the Gauls; but he applied to the people, and being a favourite with them, got himself screened from the sentence. Soon afterward, the Gauls marched to Rome, and sacked the whole city except the Capitol; as we have related at large, in the Life of Camillus.

The order of priests, called Salii, is said to have been instituted upon the following occasion: In the eighth year of Numa's reign, a pestilence prevailed in Italy; Rome also suffered under it's ravages. While the people were much dejected, we are told, that a brasen buckler fell from heaven into the hands of Numa. Of this he gave a wonderful account, received from Egeria and the Muses—that the buckler was sent down for the preservation of the city, and should be kept with the utmost care: that eleven others should be made as like it as possible in size and fashion, in order that, if any

person were disposed to steal it, he might not be able to distinguish it from the rest. He farther declared, that the place and the meadows about it, where he frequently conversed with the Muses, should be consecrated to those divinities; and that the spring, which watered the ground, should be sacred to the use of the vestal virgins, daily to sprinkle and purify their temple. The immediate cessation of the pestilence is said to have confirmed the truth of this account. Numa then showed the buckler to the artists, and commanded them to exert all their skill, in order to produce an exact resemblance. They all declined the attempt except Veturius Mamurius, who was so successful in the imitation, and made the other eleven so like it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them. These bucklers he gave in charge to the Salii; not so named (as some pretend) from Salius of Samothrace or Mantinea, who taught the way of dancing in arms; but rather from the leaping kind of dance itself, which they lead up along the streets, when in the month of March they carry the sacred bucklers through the city. Upon that occasion they are habited in purple vests, girt with broad belts of brass; they wear also brazen helmets, and carry short swords, with which they strike the bucklers, and to those sounds they keep time with their feet. They move in an agreeable manner, performing certain involutions and changes in a quick measure, with vigour, agility, and ease.

These bucklers are called *Ancilia*, from the form of them. For they are neither circular, nor yet like the *Pelta* semicircular, but fashioned in two crooked indented lines, the extremities of which meeting close form a curve, in Greek *ancyton*. Or they may be so named from the *ancon*, or ‘bend of the arm,’ upon which they are carried. This account of the matter we have from Juba, who is very desirous to derive the term from the Greek. But if we must

have an etymology from that language, it may be taken from their descending *anekathen*, 'from on high;' or from *akesis*, 'their healing of the sick;' or from *auchmón lúsis*, 'their putting an end to the drought;' or lastly from *anaschesis*, 'deliverance from calamities:' for which reason, also, Castor and Pollux were by the Athenians called *anakes*³⁴. Mamurius' reward for this art was (we are told) an ode, which the Salians sung to his memory, along with the Pyrrhic dance. Some however say, that it was not Veturius Mamurius, who was celebrated in that composition, but *vetus memoria*, the ancient remembrance' of the thing.

After Numa had instituted these several orders of priests, he erected a royal palace, called Regia, near the temple of Vesta; and there he passed most of his time, either in performing some sacred function, or in instructing the priests, or at least in conversing with them upon some divine subject. He had also another house upon the Quirinal mount, the situation of which is still exhibited. In all public ceremonies and processions of the priests, a herald went before, who gave notice to the people to keep holiday. For, as they inform us that the Pythagoreans would not suffer their disciples to pay any homage or worship to the gods in a cursory manner, but required them to come prepared for it by meditation at home; so Numa was of opinion, that his citizens should neither hear nor see any religious service in a slight or careless way, but disengaged from other affairs, bring with them that attention, which an object of so much importance required. The streets and ways upon such occasions were cleared of clamour, and all kinds of noise which attends manual labour, that the solemnities might not be disturbed. Some vestiges of this still remain; for, when the consul is employed either in augury or sacrificing, they call out to the

³⁴ See the Life of Theseus, p. 12.*

people, *Hoc age*, 'Mind this,' and thus admonish them to be orderly and attentive.

Many others of his institutions resemble those of the Pythagoreans. For as these had precepts, which enjoined them not to sit upon a bushel⁵⁵, not to stir the fire with a sword⁵⁶, not to turn back upon a journey⁵⁷, to offer an odd number to the celestial, and an even one to the terrestrial gods⁵⁸; the sense of which precepts is hidden from the vulgar: so some of Numa's have a concealed meaning; as, not to offer to the gods wine proceeding from a vine unpruned, not to sacrifice without meal⁵⁹, to turn round when you are worshipping⁶⁰, and to sit down when you have worshipped. The two first precepts seem to recommend agriculture, as a part of religion; and the turning round in adoration is said to represent the circular motion of the world. But I rather think, that as the temples opened toward the east, such as entered them necessarily turning their backs upon the rising sun made a half-turn to that quarter, in honour of the god of day; and then

⁵⁵ That is, not to give up ourselves to idleness.

⁵⁶ Not to irritate him, who is already angry.

⁵⁷ In another place Plutarch gives this precept thus, 'Never return from the borders.' But the sense is the same: Die like a man; do not long after life when it is departing, or wish to be young again.

⁵⁸ The Pagans deemed an odd number the more perfect, and the symbol of concord; because it cannot be divided into two equal parts, as the even number may, which is therefore the symbol of division. This prejudice was not only the reason, why the first month was consecrated to the celestial, and the second to the terrestrial, gods; but gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, which in some countries are still kept up by those, whom reason and religion ought to have undeceived.

⁵⁹ The principal intention of this precept might be, to wean them from sacrifices of blood, and to bring them to offer only cakes and figures of animals made of paste. (L.)—Or, as M. Ricard conjectures, to imply that meal is one of the best gifts of nature, and is therefore gratefully to be offered to the bountiful God of nature. The unpruned vine is of no value, and it is not from that which 'hath any ill blemish' (Deut. xv. 21.) that we are to select our sacrifice.*

* Probably to represent the immensity of the Godhead.

completed the circle, as well as their devotions, with their faces toward the god of the temple. Unless perhaps this change of posture may have an enigmatical meaning, like the Egyptian wheels⁶¹, admonishing us of the instability of every thing human, and preparing us to acquiesce and rest satisfied with whatever turns and changes the Divine Being may allot. The sitting down after an act of religion was intended, we are told, as an omen of success in prayer, and of lasting happiness afterward. They add that, as actions are divided by intervals of rest, so when one business was over, they sate down in the presence of the gods, that under their auspicious conduct they might begin another. Neither is this repugnant to what has been already advanced; since the lawgiver wished to accustom us to address the deity, not in the midst of business or hurry, but when we have time and leisure to do it as we ought.

By this sort of religious discipline the people became so tractable, and were impressed with such a veneration of Numa's power, that they admitted many improbable and even fabulous tales, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he undertook. Thus he is said to have invited many of the citizens to his table⁶², where he took care the vessels should be paltry, and the provisions plain and inelegant; but after they were seated he told them that the goddess, with whom he used to converse, was coming to visit him; when, on a sudden,

⁶¹ Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 8.) quotes a passage from a grammarian of that city, in which it is stated that the Egyptian priests presented to such, as came to worship in their temples, a wheel to represent the instability, and flowers to exhibit the brevity, of life.*

⁶² Dion. Halic. (ii. 15.) tells us, that Numa showed these Romans all the rooms of his palace in the morning meanly furnished, and without any signs of a great entertainment; that he kept them with him a considerable part of the day; and, when they returned to sup with him by invitation in the evening, they found every thing surprisingly magnificent. This he imputed, most probably, to his invisible friend.

the room was supplied with the most costly vessels, and the table with a magnificent entertainment. But nothing can be imagined more absurd, than what is related about his conversation with Jupiter. It is said, that when mount Aventine was yet without the walls and uninhabited, abounding with flowing springs and shady groves, it was frequented by two demi-gods, Picus and Faunus. These, in other respects, were like the Satyrs,⁶³ or the race of the Titans⁶⁴; but in the wonderful feats, which they performed by their skill in pharmacy and magic, more resembled the Idæi Dactyli⁶⁴, as the Greeks call them; and, thus provided, they roamed about Italy. Numa, they tell us, having mixed the fountain of which they used to drink with wine and honey⁶⁵, surprised and caught them. Upon this, they turned themselves into many forms, and quitting their natural figure assumed strange and horrible appearances. But, when they found they could not break or escape from the bond by which they were held, they acquainted him with many secrets of futurity, and taught him a lustration for thunder and

⁶³ Some MSS. give us Πανον instead of Τιτάνων, which is a better reading, because Picus and Faunus were horned Sylvan deities like Pan. (L.) See an account of these old Italian gods, in Heyne's Excurs. V. on Virg. Æn. vii.*

⁶⁴ Diodorus, from Ephorus, informs us that the Idæi Dactyli were originally from mount Ida in Phrygia, whence they passed into Europe with king Minos. They settled first in Samothrace, where they taught the inhabitants religious rites. Orpheus is thought to have been their disciple, and the first who imported a form of worship into Greece. The Dactyli are likewise said to have found out the use of fire, and to have explained the nature of iron and brass to the inhabitants of the country near mount Berecynthus, and the way of working them. For this, and many other useful discoveries, they were worshipped after their death as gods. (L.)

Their name they had from δακτυλος, 'a finger,' being ten in number. This name was used as a charm against terrors; and some stones, called after them 'Idæi Dactyli,' were worn as amulets.*

⁶⁵ Ovid says, wine only—and at the same time he also sacrificed a sheep. (Fast. iii. 300.) But can this be true of the Pythagorean Numa?*

lightning, composed of onions, hair, and pilchards, which is in use to this day. Others say, these demigods did not communicate the lustration, but that by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, resenting this at Numa's hands, ordered "the charm to consist of heads"—"Of onions," replied Numa. "Human"—"Hairs," said Numa, desirous to fence against the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. "Living," said Jupiter:—"Pilchards," said Numa. He was instructed (it seems) by Egeria, how to manage the matter. Jupiter went away propitious, in Greek *ileos*, whence the place was called *Ilicium*⁶⁶; and so the charm was effected. These things, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, demonstrate how superstition confirmed by custom operated upon the minds of the people. As for Numa himself, he placed his confidence so entirely in the Deity, that when one brought him word the enemy was coming, he only smiled, saying; "And I am sacrificing."

He is recorded to have been the first that built temples to *Fides*⁶⁷ or Faith, and to *Terminus*⁶⁸: he

⁶⁶ This is Plutarch's mistake. Ovid informs us (*Fast.* iii. 928.) that Jupiter was called *Elicius* from *elicere*, 'to draw out,' because he was drawn out of heaven upon this occasion. (L.) But Plutarch owns himself to have been only slightly acquainted with the Latin language, and it is not therefore surprising that he should occasionally err, in regard to some of its etymologies.*

⁶⁷ This was intended to make the Romans pay as much regard to their word, as to a contract in writing. And so excellent, in fact, were their principles, that Polybius gives the Romans of his time this honourable testimony: 'They most inviolably keep their word, without being obliged to it by bail, witness, or promise; whereas ten securities, twenty promises, and as many witnesses cannot hinder the faithless Greeks from attempting to deceive and disappoint you.' No wonder, then, that so virtuous a people were victorious over those, who were become thus degenerate and dishonest!

⁶⁸ The *Dii Termini* were represented by stones, which Numa caused to be placed on the borders of the Roman state, and of each man's private lands. In honour of these deities, he instituted a festival called *Terminalia*, which was annually celebrated on the 22d or 23d of February, (L.)—or *sext. Cal. Mart.* This day was anciently the last of the Year (*Varr. L. L. c.*), and was therefore

likewise taught the Romans to swear by Faith, as the greatest of oaths; which they still continue to observe⁶⁹. In our times they sacrifice animals in the fields, both on public and private occasions, to Terminus as the god of boundaries; but, formerly, the offering was an inanimate one: for Numa argued, that there should be no effusion of blood in the rites of a god, who is the guardian of peace and the witness of justice. It is certain indeed that Numa was the first, who marked out the boundaries of the Roman territory; Romulus being unwilling, by defining his own, to show how much he had encroached upon the neighbouring countries: for bounds, if preserved, are barriers against lawless power; if violated, are evidences of injustice. The territory of the city was originally far from being extensive, but Romulus added to it a considerable district gained by the sword. All this Numa divided among the indigent citizens, that poverty might not drive them to rapine; and, as he turned the application of the people to agriculture, their temper was subdued together with the ground. For no occupation implants so speedy and so effectual a love of peace, as a country-life; where, without diminishing the courage and bravery necessary to defend property, the temptations to injustice and avarice are removed. Numa, therefore, introduced among his subjects an attachment to husbandry, as a charm of peace; and contriving a business for them, which would rather form their manners to simplicity than raise them to

the day doubled by Julius Cæsar's intercalation, whence the year was denominated 'Bissextile.' The victim, sacrificed upon these occasions, was a lamb or a sucking pig. February, either as the last month of the twelve, or as consisting (alone, according to Numa's regulation of the calendar) of an even number (see not. 58), was reckoned unfortunate, reserved for the dead, and consecrated to Typhon or the Evil Genius.* To remove the Dii Terminii was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature, that any man might kill the transgressor with impunity.

⁶⁹ In the phrase, *Melius fidius*, which may be regarded as nearly equivalent to the English 'Upon my honour.'*

opulence, he divided the country into several portions, which he called *pagi* or 'boroughs,' and appointed over each of them a governor or overseer. Occasionally, also, he inspected them himself: and, judging of the disposition of the people, by the condition of their farms, some he advanced to posts of honour and trust; while, on the other hand, he reprimanded and endeavoured to reform the negligent and the idle ⁷⁰.

But the most admired of all his institutions, is his distribution of the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. For the city consisting, as we have observed, of two nations or rather factions, who instead of uniting and blotting out the remembrance of their original difference, maintained perpetual contests and party-quarrels; he pursued the method adopted to incorporate hard and solid bodies, which while entire will not mix at all, but when reduced to powder combine with ease. To attain his purpose, he divided (as I said) the whole multitude into small bodies, who gaining new distinctions lost by degrees the great and original one, in consequence of their being thus broken into so many parts. This distribution was made according to the several trades, of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers, and potters ⁷¹. He collected the other artificers also into companies, who had their respective halls, courts, and religious ceremonies, peculiar to each society. By these means he first took away the distinction of

⁷⁰ To neglect the cultivation of a farm, was considered among the Romans as a *censoarium probum*; 'a fault, that merited the chastisement of the censor.'

⁷¹ Many political œconomists blame these guilds, as introducing a selfish corporate spirit; as hostile to industry, by their formalities and qualifications, which arrest it's progress; and as causing intrigues and jealousies, so often fatal to real talent. But, in this instance at least, they were of service; and perhaps chiefly so by destroying other principles of association, of a still more dangerous nature, in the heterogeneous mass of Roman population. For these, he judiciously substituted the strong cement of peculiar religious rites.*

Sabines and Romans, subjects of Tatius and subjects of Romulus, both name and thing; the very separation into parts mixing and uniting the whole together.

He is celebrated also in his political capacity, for having corrected the law, which empowered fathers to sell their children⁷², by excepting such as had married under their father's command or consent; for he reckoned it a great hardship, that a woman should marry a man as free, and then live with him as a slave.

He attempted likewise the reformation of the calendar, which he executed with some degree of skill, though not with absolute exactness. In the reign of Romulus, it had neither measure nor order, some months consisting of fewer than twenty days⁷³, while

⁷² Romulus had allowed fathers greater power over their children, than masters had over their slaves. For a master could sell his slave only once; whereas a father could sell his son, of what age or condition soever, three times. (L.) This power of selling children existed likewise in Greece, till the time of Solon; and, when he set limits to it, by directing that it should not affect such as had attained manhood, he made exceptions with regard to daughters or sisters surprised in any heinous offence. Numa's mitigation of this privilege was but of short duration; for the Decenvirs, in their fourth Table, revived it to it's original extent (Dion. Halic. ii. 8.); and though, as Gravina informs us (*Espr. des Loix Rom., Art. Droit Paternel*), it was gradually moderated by the influence of civilisation and literature, instances occur, even in the time of Cicero, which prove that the right itself continued to subsist in all it's rigour.*

⁷³ But Macrobius informs us (*Saturn. i. 12., &c.*) and with him Solinus (*Polyhist. i.*) agrees, that Romulus settled the number of days with more equality, allotting to March, May, Quintilis (or July), and October, one and thirty days each; to April, June, Sextilis (or August), September, November, and December, thirty; making up in all three hundred and four days. Numa, better acquainted with the celestial motions, added (or, more probably, transposed) the two months of January and February. [Neither Romulus indeed, nor any other man, could be so ignorant as to make the lunar year consist of three hundred and four days; and that the Romans originally reckoned by lunar months, and consequently by the lunar year, is plain from their calends, nones, and ides.] To compose these two months, he added fifty days to the three hundred and four, in order to make them answer to the course

some were extended to thirty-five, and others even to more. They had no idea of the anomaly between the courses of the sun and the moon, and only laid down this position, that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty days. Numa then, observing that there was a difference of eleven days, three hundred and fifty-four days making up the lunar, and three hundred and sixty-five the solar year, doubled those eleven days and inserted them as an intercalary month, after that of February, every other year. This additional month was called by the Romans 'Mercedinus.' But this amendment of the irregularity required itself a subsequent amendment. He likewise altered the order of the months, making March the third, which had been the first; January

of the moon. Beside this, he observed the difference between the solar and the twelve lunar courses to be eleven days, and to remedy the inequality, doubled those days after every two years, adding an interstitial month after February; which Plutarch here calls 'Mercedinus,' and in the Life of Julius Cæsar 'Mercedonius.' Festus speaks of certain days, which he calls 'Dies Mercedonii,' because they were appointed, as at the end of the year, for the payment of workmen and domestics, which is all we know of the word. As Numa was sensible, that the solar year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, and that the six hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded that the month 'Mercedinus' after every four years should consist of twenty-three days; but the care of these intercalations being left to the priests, they put in or left out the intercalary day or month, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky, useful or inconvenient, advantageous or disadvantageous, to themselves; and thus created such confusion, that the festivals came in process of time to be kept at a season quite contrary to what they had formerly been. The Roman calendar had gained nearly three months in the days of Julius Cæsar, and therefore again stood in need of a great reformation. (L.)

But, upon this subject, neither the modern nor the Roman literati are clear. That Romulus indeed, instead of commencing his year (like most others) at the autumnal, preferred the vernal equinox, and made March his first month, is generally considered as a compliment to the date of the foundation of his city: but whether his year consisted of ten, or of twelve months, even his countrymen are doubtful. M. Bailly (*Astron. Anc.*) and M. Gebelin (*Hist. du Calendrier*) have written at large upon this topic. M. Ricard has a long note of censure upon the anomaly introduced by Numa, in spite of his better knowledge, into the Roman calendar, through a superstitious Egyptian veneration for odd numbers.*

the first, which had been the eleventh of Romulus, and February the second, which had been the twelfth and last. Many however assert, that the two months of January and February were added by Numa, the Romans having previously reckoned but ten months in the year; as some barbarous nations had but three, and among the Greeks the Arcadians four, and the Acarnanians six. The Egyptian year likewise, they tell us, at first consisted only of one month, and afterward of four. And therefore, though they inhabit a new country⁷⁴, they seem to be a very ancient people, and reckon in their chronology an incredible number of years, because they account months for years⁷⁵.

That the Roman year contained at first ten months only, and not twelve, we have a proof in the name of the last; for they still call it December, or the tenth month; and that March was the first, is also evident, because the fifth from it was called Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and so the rest in their order. If January and February then had been placed before March, the month Quintilis would have been

⁷⁴ The Delta, as requiring to be drained, &c., was most probably the last part of Egypt that became inhabited.*

⁷⁵ To suppose the Egyptians reckoned months for years does indeed bring their computation pretty near the truth, with respect to the existing age of the world; for they enumerated a succession of kings for the space of 36,000 years. But that supposition would make the reigns of their kings unreasonably short. Besides, Herodotus says, that the Egyptians were the first who began to compute by years; and that they made the year consist of twelve months. Their boasted antiquity must, therefore, be imputed to their having stretched the fabulous part of their history too far back. As to Plutarch's saying that Egypt was 'a new country,' it is strange that such a notion could ever be entertained by a man of his knowledge. (L.)

For their year of four months, M. Bailly is puzzled to assign a physical origin; as he naturally concludes, that they could hardly compute it by the revolution of a planet so difficult to observe as Mercury; and therefore, in conformity to his favourite theory of deriving all our information from the north (rejecting the more obvious and probable hypothesis, which refers it to the periodical flowing of the Nile) he finds it's source, at the 70° of N. lat. in the alterations of the solar declination! *

the fifth in name, but the seventh in reckoning. Besides, it is reasonable to conclude that the month of March, dedicated by Romulus to the god Mars, should stand first; and April second, which has its name from Aphrodite or Venus, for in this month the women sacrifice to that goddess, and bathe on its first day with crowns of myrtle on their heads. Some however say, that April does not derive its name from Aphrodite; but as the very sound of the term seems to dictate, from *aperire*, ‘to open;’ because, the spring having then attained its vigour, it opens and unfolds the blossoms of plants⁷⁶. The next month, which is that of May, is so called from Maia, the mother of Mercury; for to him it is sacred. June has its name from ‘the youthful⁷⁷’ season of the year. Some again inform us, that these two months borrow their names from the two ages, old and young; as the older men are called *majores*, and the younger *juniore*s. The succeeding months were denominated according to their order, of fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth. Afterward Quintilis was called July, in honour of Julius Cæsar, who overcame Pompey; and Sextilis August, from Augustus the second emperor of Rome. To the two following months Domitian gave his two names of Germanicus and Domitianus, which lasted but a little while; for, when he was slain, they resumed their old names, September and October. The two last were the only ones that all along retained the original appellation, which they had from their order. February, which was either added or transposed by Numa, is the month of ‘purification,’ for so the

⁷⁶ This is surely the more probable, though Ovid seems to prefer the former etymology:

Utque foro Marti primam dedit ordine sortem,

Quod sibi nascenti proxima causa fuit;

Sic Venerem gradibus multis in gente repertam

Alterius voluit mensis habere locum. (Fast. iv. 25.)*

⁷⁷ For *ἰππε*, translated ‘youth,’ Amyot proposes to read *ἡππε*, or ‘Juno’—a correction which his editors approve, and Reiske has judiciously inserted in the text.*

term signifies; and at that time rites are celebrated for the ‘purifying’ of trees⁷⁸, and procuring a blessing on their fruits: then also the feast of the Luperalia is held, the ceremonies of which much resemble those of a lustration. January, the first month, is so named from Janus. And Numa seems to me to have taken away the precedency from March, which is denominated from the god of war, with a design to show his preference of the political to the martial virtues. For this Janus⁷⁹ in the most remote antiquity, whether a demi-god or a king, being remarkable for his political abilities and his cultivation of society, reclaimed men from their rude and savage manners; he is therefore represented with two faces, as having altered the former state of the world, and given quite a new turn to life. He has also a temple at Rome with two gates, which they call ‘the gates of war.’ It is the custom for this temple to stand open in the time of war, and to be shut in time of peace. The latter was seldom the case, as the empire has been generally engaged in war on account of it’s great extent, and it’s having had to contend with so many surrounding barbarous nations. It has, therefore, been shut only in the reign of Augustus Cæsar⁸⁰, when he had conquered Antony; and be-

⁷⁸ Another reading has it, τοῖς φθιτοῖς ἐνθυζῆσαι instead of τοῖς ζυτοῖς; and then the sense will be, ‘they sacrifice to the dead.’ Both have their authorities; the common reading being supported by a passage in Ovid, who takes notice that the Luperci ‘purified’ the ground:

—Sectâ quia pelle Luperci

Omne solum lustrant. (Fast. ii. 32.)

And the other, which seems the better, rests upon the authority of Varro, &c., who mentions an offering to the dead in the month of February. *Ab deis inferis Februarius appellatus, quòd tunc his parentetur.*

⁷⁹ M. Ricard has a note upon this passage, to prove from MM. Gebelin and Bailly, that Janus was a purely allegorical personage.*

⁸⁰ Augustus shut the temple of Janus three several times; one of which was A. U. C. 750, before the birth of our Saviour, according to Isaiah’s prophecy, that ‘all the world should be blessed with peace, when the Prince of Peace was born.’ This temple was also shut by Nero, and by Vespasian, after his triumph over the Jews.

fore, in the consulate of Marcus Atilius⁸¹ and Titus Manlius, a little while ; for, a new war breaking out, it was soon opened again. In Numa's reign, however, it was not open for a single day ; but stood constantly shut during the space of forty-three years, while uninterrupted peace reigned in every quarter. Not only the people of Rome were softened and humanised by the justness and mildness of the king, but even the circumjacent cities, breathing as it were the same salutary and delightful air, began to change their behaviour. Like the Romans, they became desirous of peace and good laws, of cultivating the ground, educating their children in tranquillity, and paying their homage to the gods. Italy was then occupied with festivals and sacrifices, games and entertainments ; the people, without any apprehensions of danger, intermixed in a friendly manner, and treated each other with mutual hospitality ; the love of virtue and justice, as from the source of Numa's wisdom, gently flowing upon all, and moving with the composure of his heart. Even the hyperbolical expressions of the poets fall short of describing the happiness of those days :

Secure Arachne o'er the buckler spreads
Her slender toils ; upon the broad sword feeds
Consuming rust, and dims the gleaming spear :
No more war's hoarse-tongued trump awakens fear,
And robs the eye of sleep⁸².

We have no account of either war or insurrection in the state, during Numa's reign. Nay, he experienced neither enmity nor envy ; nor did ambition dictate either open, or private, attempts against his crown. Whether it were the fear of the gods, who

⁸¹ Instead of ' Marcus,' we should read ' Caius' Atilius. Titus Manlius, his colleague, shut the temple of Janus, at the conclusion of the first Punic war, A. U. C. 519. (L.) From the reign of Numa till this period, Rome had been engaged in perpetual contests.*

⁸² Plutarch took this passage from some verses of Bacchylides, preserved by Stobæus, in praise of peace.

took so pious a man under their protection, or the reverence of his virtue, or the singular good fortune of his times, which kept the manners of men pure and unsullied; he was an illustrious instance of that truth, which Plato several ages afterward ventured to utter concerning government: "That the only sure prospect of deliverance from the evils of life will be, when the divine Providence shall so order it, that the coincidence of philosophy and regal power shall render virtue triumphant over vice⁵³." A man of such wisdom is not only happy in himself, but contributes by his instructions to the happiness of others. There is, in truth, no need either of force or menaces, to direct the multitude: for, when they see virtue exemplified in so glorious a pattern as the life of their prince, they become wise of themselves; and endeavour by friendship and unanimity, by a strict regard to justice and temperance, to form themselves to an innocent and happy conduct. This is the noblest end of government; and he is most worthy of the royal seat, who can thus regulate the lives and dispositions of his subjects. Of this no one was more sensible than Numa.

As to his wives and children, there are great contradictions among historians. For some say, he had no wife but Tatia, nor any child but one daughter named Pompilia. Others, beside that daughter, give an account of four sons, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus; every one of which left an honourable posterity—the Pomponii being descended from Pompon, the Pinarii from Pinus, the Calpurnii from Calpus, and the Mamerci from Mamercus. These were surnamed Reges, or 'kings⁵⁴.' But a third

⁵³ De Rep. v. The term 'ventured,' as M. Ricard observes, is in this place an appropriate term, with regard to the governments among which Plato lived. The 'philosophy' however, which he would here dignify with the regal purple, is not that venom of states, which has lately usurped the title; and which in Plato's time, through the channel of both declaimers and sophists, overflowed Greece.*

⁵⁴ Rex was the surname of the *Æmilii* and the *Marcii*, but not of

set of writers accuse the former of forging these descents from Numa, in order to ingratiate themselves with particular families. And they inform us, that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife, whom that prince married after he had ascended the throne. All however agree, that Pompilia was married to Marcius, the son of that Marcius, who persuaded Numa to accept the crown : for he followed him to Rome, where he was enrolled a senator, and after Numa's death became competitor with Tullus Hostilius for the throne ; but, failing in the enterprise, starved himself to death. His son Marcius, the husband of Pompilia, remained in Rome, and had a son named Ancus Marcius, who reigned after Tullus Hostilius. This son is said to have been but five years old, at Numa's death.

Numa was carried off by no sudden or acute distemper ; but, as Piso relates, wasted away insensibly with old age and a gentle decline. He was some few years above eighty, when he died.

The neighbouring nations, that were in friendship and alliance with Rome, strove to make the honours of his burial equal to the happiness of his life, attending with crowns and other public offerings. The senators carried the bier, and the ministers of the gods walked in procession. The rest of the people, with the women and children, crowded to the funeral ; not as if they were attending the interment of an aged king, but as if they had lost one of their beloved relations in the bloom of life ; for they followed it with tears and loud lamentations. They did not burn the body⁸⁵, because (as we are told) he

the Pomponii, the Pinarii, or the Mamerci. The Pinarii were descended from a family, who were priests of Hercules, and more ancient than the times of Numa. (Liv. i. 7., Dion. Halic. i. 9., and Virg. *Æn.* viii. 271.)

⁸⁵ In the most ancient times the bodies of the dead, as appears from the history of the patriarchs, were committed to the ground. But the Egyptians, from a vain desire of preserving their bodies from corruption, had them embalmed ; persons of condition with rich spices, and the poor with salt. The Greeks, in order to obvi-

himself forbade it; but they made two stone-coffins⁸⁷, and buried them under the Janiculum; the one containing his body, and the other the sacred books which he had written⁸⁷, in the same manner as the Grecian legislators wrote their tables of laws.

Numa had taken care however, in his life-time, to instruct the priests in all that those books contained; and to impress both the sense and the practice upon their memories. He then ordered them to be buried with him, persuaded that such mysteries could not safely exist in lifeless writing⁸⁸. Influenced by the same reasoning, the Pythagoreans (it is said) never committed their precepts to writing, but entrusted them to the memories of such as they thought worthy of so great a deposit. And, when they happened to communicate to an unworthy person their abstruse problems in geometry, they announced that the gods threatened to avenge his profaneness and impiety with some heavy and unprecedented calamity. Those therefore may be well excused, who from so many resemblances infer, that

ate the inconveniences that might possibly happen from corruption, burned the bodies of the dead; but Pliny informs us, that Sylla was the first Roman, whose body was burned. When paganism was abolished, the burning of dead bodies ceased; and, in the belief of the resurrection, Christians committed their dead with due care and honour to the earth, to repose there until that great event.

⁸⁶ To this passage reference is made by Dr. Clarke (Jes. Coll. Cambridge) in his Dissertation on 'the Tomb of Alexander,' to prove that the word *Σεπας*, used by Herodian (Hist. iv., where he relates the emperor Caracalla's visit to Alexandria) signifies 'the immediate receptacle of the body;' in which sense it is likewise used by Homer, Il. xxiii. 90. and Dioscorides v. 142. The whole Dissertation is highly creditable to its author. See Crit. Rev. 1805. ii. p. 274. &c. and Edinb. Rev. No. xiv. 480. &c.*

⁸⁷ This seems to be contradicted by Dion. Halic. (iii. 12.) who says that, after the death of Tullus Hostilius, his successor Ancus Marcius received from the priests Numa's laws relative to the rites of worship; and that he in consequence caused them to be engraved, and exhibited in public.*

⁸⁸ This was the sentiment of the old Egyptian priests, and from them it seems to have been communicated to Pythagoras and Plato. Numa too, as partial to the notions of that country, may have derived his opinion from the same source.*

Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras. Valerius Antias relates, that there were twelve books written in Latin concerning religion, and twelve more upon philosophy in Greek, buried in that coffin⁸⁹. But four hundred years afterward⁹⁰, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were consuls, a prodigious fall of rain having washed away the earth that covered the coffins, and the lids falling off, one of them appeared entirely empty, without the least remains of the body; in the other, the books were found. Petilius, then prætor, having examined them, made his report upon oath to the senate, that it appeared to him inconsistent both with justice and religion to publish them: in consequence of which, all the volumes were carried into the Comitium, and there burned.

⁸⁹ Livy (xl. 29.) says '*duo fascēs candelis involuti septenos habuere libros, non integros modò, sed recentissimâ specie. Septem Latini de jure pontificio erant; septem Græci de disciplinâ sapientiæ, quæ illius ætatis esse potuit.*' But these, M. Ricard contends from the word *involuti*, could not be Numa's; as rolls were not then in use. Bruce (Trav. V.) informs us, that Numa is said to have written his books upon the Egyptian papyrus; and, as a proof of the groundlessness of Pliny's surprise with regard to the duration of so frail a substance, adds that he has in his possession a large and beautiful manuscript of similar materials, which had been found in the ruins of Thebes, of much greater antiquity. Compare Plin. xiii. 13., and xvi. 37., with the above extract from Livy. With regard to the number of books found, historians widely differ.*

⁹⁰ Plutarch probably wrote five hundred; for this happened A. U. C. 573. 'One Terentius,' says Varro [*ap. S. August. de Civ. Dei*] 'had a piece of ground near the Janiculum; and a husbandman of his one day accidentally running over Numa's tomb, turned up some of the legislator's books, wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the Romans as he left it. The husbandman carried these books to the prætor, and the prætor to the senate; who, after having read his frivolous statements upon this subject, agreed that the books, in pursuance of Numa's intentions, should be destroyed. It was accordingly decreed, that the prætor should throw them into the fire.' But, though Numa's motives for the religion which he established might be trivial enough, that was not the chief motive for suppressing them. The principal reason was the many new superstitions equally trivial, which the Romans had introduced, contrary to Numa's appointment. (L.) Dacier conjectures, that these books might have been forged, with the view of restoring among the people their primitive simplicity of worship.*

Glory follows in the train of great men, and increases after their death: for envy does not long survive them; nay, it sometimes dies before them. The misfortunes, indeed, of the succeeding kings added lustre to Numa's character. Of the five that came after him, the last was driven from the throne, and lived long in exile; and, of the four others, not one died a natural death. Three were treacherously slain. As for Tullus Hostilius, who reigned next after Numa, he ridiculed and despised many of his best institutions (particularly his religious ones, as effeminate and tending to inaction) with a view to dispose the people to war. He did not, however, abide by his irreligious opinions; but falling into a severe and complicated sickness, exchanged them for a superstition⁹¹, very different from Numa's piety. Others likewise were infected with the same false principles, when they saw the manner of his death, which is said to have happened by lightning⁹².

LYCURGUS AND NUMA

COMPARED.

HAVING gone through the Lives of Numa and Lycurgus, we must now endeavour (though it is no easy matter) to contrast their actions. For the resemblances between them are obvious enough; their wisdom, for instance, their piety, their talents for

⁹¹ None are so superstitious in distress as those, who in their prosperity have laughed at religion. The famous Canon Vossius was not less remarkable for the greatness of his fears, than for the littleness of his faith.

⁹² The palace of Tullus Hostilius was burned down by lightning; and he, with his wife and children, perished in the flames. Though some historians say that Ancus Marcius, who (as the grandson of Numa) expected to succeed to the crown, took the opportunity of the storm to assassinate the king.

government, their instruction of the people, and their deriving their laws from a divine source.

The first then of their peculiar distinctions, was Numa's accepting a crown, and Lycurgus' relinquishing one. The former received a kingdom without seeking it, the latter resigned one when he had it in possession. Numa was advanced to sovereign power, when a private person and a stranger; Lycurgus reduced himself from a king to a subject. It was an honour to the one, to have attained royal dignity by his justice; and it was an honour to the other, to have preferred justice to that dignity. Virtue rendered the one so respectable as to deserve a throne, and the other so great as to be above it.

The second observation is, that they managed their respective governments, as musicians do their lyres, each in a different manner. Lycurgus wound up the strings of Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, to a stronger tone: Numa softened the high and harsh tone of Rome. The former had the more difficult task. For it was not their swords and breast-plates, which he persuaded his citizens to lay aside, but their gold and silver, their sumptuous beds and tables: what he taught them was, not to devote their time to feasts and sacrifices, after quitting the rugged paths of war, but to abandon entertainments, and the pleasures of wine, for the laborious exercises of arms and the wrestling-ring. Numa effected his purposes, in a friendly manner, by the regard and veneration which the people had for his person: Lycurgus had to struggle with conflicts and dangers, before he could establish his laws. The genius of Numa was more mild and gentle, softening and attempering the fiery dispositions of his people to justice and peace. If we be obliged to admit the sanguinary and unjust treatment of the Helots, as a part of the politics of Lycurgus; we must allow Numa to have been far the more humane and equitable lawgiver, who permitted absolute slaves to taste of the honour of freemen, and in the *Saturnalia* to be

entertained along with their masters¹. For this also (they tell us) was one of Numa's institutions; that persons in a state of servitude should be admitted, at least once a-year, to the liberal enjoyment of those fruits, which they had helped to raise. Some however pretend to find in this custom the vestiges of that equality, which subsisted in the times of Saturn; when there was neither servant nor master, but all were upon the same footing, and as it were of one family.

Both appear to have been equally studious to lead their people to temperance and sobriety. As to the remaining virtues, the one was more attached to fortitude, and the other to justice. Though, possibly, the different nature and quality of their respective governments required a different process. For it was not through want of courage, but to guard against injustice, that Numa restrained his subjects from war: neither did Lycurgus endeavour to infuse a martial spirit into his people with a view to encourage them to injure others, but to guard them against being injured themselves. As each had the luxuriations of his citizens to prune, and their deficiencies to supply, they must necessarily make very considerable alterations.

Numa's distribution of the people was indulgent and agreeable to the commonalty, as with him a various and mixed mass of goldsmiths, musicians, shoemakers, and other trades composed the body of the city. But Lycurgus in modelling his state

¹ The Saturnalia was a feast, celebrated on the 14th of the calends of January. Beside the sacrifices in honour of Saturn, who upon his retiring into Italy introduced there the happiness of the golden age, servants were indulged in mirth and freedom, in memory of the equality which prevailed in that age: presents were sent from one friend to another; and all proclamations of war, and executions of criminals, were suspended. It is uncertain, when this festival was instituted. Macrobius says, it was celebrated in Italy long before the building of Rome; and he is probably right, for the Greeks kept the same feast under the name of Chronia. (Macrobius Saturn. l. 7.) (L.) M. Ricard affirms, that it was established, subsequently to Numa's reign, by Tullus Hostilius or Tarquinius Superbus.*

inclined to the nobility, and proceeded in a severe and unpopular manner; putting all mechanic arts into the hands of slaves and strangers, while the citizens were solely taught how to manage the spear and the shield. They were only artists in war, and servants of Mars; neither knowing nor desiring to know, any thing but how to obey, command, and conquer their enemies. That the freemen might be wholly and once for all free, he would not suffer them to give any attention to their circumstances; but that entire business, in the same manner as the dressing of their meat, was to be left to the slaves and the Helots. Numa made no such distinction as this: he only put a stop to the gain of military rapine. Not solicitous to prevent an inequality of substance, he forbade no other means of increasing the fortunes of his subjects, or of rising to the greatest opulence²; neither did he guard against poverty, which at the same time entered and overflowed the city. While there was no great disparity in the possessions of his citizens, but all were moderately provided, he should first have combated the desire of gain, and like Lycurgus have watched against it's inconveniences; for those were by no means inconsiderable, but such as gave birth to the many and great troubles, that happened in the Roman state.

As to an equal division of lands, Lycurgus was as little to blame for having made, as Numa for not having made it. The equality, which it caused, afforded the former a firm foundation for his government; and the latter, finding a division already made, and probably as yet subsisting entire, had no occasion to make a new one.

With respect to the community of wives and children, each took a politic method to banish jealousy.

² And this, from the severity of the wealthy patricians toward their debtors, was the chief source of the calamities of Rome; by causing innumerable disturbances among the plebeians, which could only in general be quieted by the harsh remedy of a new war.*

A Roman husband, when he had a sufficient number of children, and was applied to by one that had none, might give up his wife to him³, and was at liberty both to divorce her and to take her again. But the Lacedæmonian, while his wife remained in his house, and the marriage subsisted in it's original force, allowed his friend, who desired to have children by her, the use of his bed: and (as we have already observed) many husbands invited to their houses such men, as were likely to give them healthy and well-made children. The difference between the two customs is this, that the Lacedæmonians appeared very easy and unconcerned about an affair, which in other places causes so much disturbance, and consumes men's hearts with jealousy and sorrow; while among the Romans there was a modesty, which veiled the matter with a new contract, and seemed to declare that a partnership in wedlock is intolerable.

Yet farther, Numa's strictness as to virgins tended to form them to that modesty, which is the ornament of their sex: but the great liberty, which Lycurgus gave them, brought upon them the censure of the poets, particularly of Ibycus⁴: for they call them *Phænomerides*, and *Andromaneis*. Euripides describes them as follows;

These quit their homes beneath the eye of day,
Proud 'midst the youths their vigour to display,
In speed or wrestling; while their drapery light
Flies back, and gives their naked limbs to sight.

The skirts of the habit, which the virgins wore, were not sewed to the bottom, but opened at the sides as they walked, and discovered the thigh, as Sophocles plainly states:

Still stalks Hæraione in light array
Whose opening folds the naked thigh display.

³ It does not appear, that Numa afforded any sanction to this liberty. Plutarch himself says, a little below, that no divorce was known in Rome till long afterward.

⁴ A lyric poet of Rhegium, who lived about Ol. lv.*

Their behaviour, consequently, is said to have been too bold and masculine, in particular to their husbands. For they considered themselves as absolute mistresses in their houses; nay, they even aspired to share in affairs of state, and delivered their sentiments with great freedom upon matters of the highest importance. But Numa, though he preserved entire to the matrons all the honour and respect paid by their husbands in the time of Romulus, when they endeavoured by kindness to compensate for the rape, obliged them still to behave with the utmost reserve, and to lay aside all impertinent curiosity. He taught them to be sober, and accustomed them to silence, to a total abstinence from wine⁵, and not to speak even of the most necessary business except in their husbands' presence. When a woman once appeared in the Forum to plead her own cause, it is reported that the senate ordered the oracle to be consulted, what this strange event portended to the city⁶. Nay, what is recorded of a few infamous women, is a proof of the general obedience and meekness of the Roman matrons. For as our historians give us accounts of those, who first carried war into the bowels of

⁵ Romulus made the drinking of wine, as well as adultery, a capital crime in women. For adultery (he said) opens the door to all sorts of crimes, and wine opens the door to adultery. (L.) One Egnatius Mecenius with his own hands put his wife to death for having drunk wine, and was acquitted by the senate. (Plin. H. N. xiv. 13.) And an instance of still greater severity is on record, in which a woman, who had stolen the keys of the cellar, was stoned to death by her relations. One of the reasons assigned elsewhere by Plutarch, 'why the Roman women kissed the lips of their husbands,' is that if they had transgressed in this respect, they might expose themselves to easier detection.* The severity of this law was softened in the succeeding ages: the women, who were overcome by liquor, were not condemned to die, but to lose their dowers.

⁶ What then appeared so strange, became afterward common enough; insomuch, that every troublesome woman of that description was called *Afrania*, from a senator's wife so named, who busied herself in courts of justice. The eloquent *Hortensia*, daughter to the orator *Hortensius*, pleaded with such success for the women, when the triumvirs had laid a fine upon them, that she got a considerable part of it remitted. (Val. Max. viii. 3, 4.)

their country, or against their brothers, or committed parricide; so the Romans relate, that Spurius Carvilius was the first among them that divorced his wife, no such event having previously occurred for two hundred and thirty years from the building of Rome⁷: and that Thalæa, the wife of Pinarius, was the first who quarrelled with her mother-in-law Gegania, in the reign of Tarquin the Proud. So well framed for the preserving of decency, and propriety of behaviour, were this lawgiver's regulations with respect to marriage.

Agreeable to the education of virgins in Sparta, were the directions of Lycurgus, as to the time of their being married. For he ordered them to be married, when both their age and wishes led them to it: that the company of a husband, as then suggested by nature, might be the foundation of kindness and love, not of fear and hatred, which would be the consequence if nature were forced; and that their bodies might have strength to bear the trouble of breeding, and the pangs of child-birth, the propagation of children being looked upon as the only end of marriage. But the Romans married their daughters at the age of twelve years, or under; that both their bodies and their manners might come pure and untainted to their husbands. It appears then, that the former institution, more naturally tended to the procreation of children, and the latter to the forming of the manners for the matrimonial union⁸.

In the education of the boys however, in regulating their classes, and laying down the whole method of their exercises, diversions, and eating at a common table, Lycurgus stands distinguished, and leaves

⁷ A. U. C. 520. See the Life of Romulus, p. 107. nott. (5.) and (6.)

⁸ Aristotle (Polit. vii. 16.) prefers the Spartan principle, as much more beneficial in it's consequences to mankind. Even the object of the Roman regulation, was, in his opinion, better attained by deferring the nuptial contract until the female was more likely, from her maturer age, to understand it's obligation and it's importance.*

Numa upon the mere level of ordinary lawgivers⁹. For Numa resigned it to the option or convenience of parents, to bring up their sons to agriculture, or to ship-building, to the business of a brazier, or to the art of a musician. As if it were not necessary that one design should pervade the general education, and that each individual should receive a common bias; but that they should rather resemble the passengers in a ship, who coming each from a different employment, and with a different intent, stand upon their common defence in time of danger, merely out of fear for themselves or their property, and upon other occasions are attentive only to their private ends. In such a case, common legislators would have been excusable, who might have failed through ignorance or want of power; but should not so wise a man as Numa, who took upon him the government of a state recently formed, and not likely to offer the least opposition to any thing he proposed, have made it his first care to give the children such a bent of education, and the youth such a mode of exercise, as would prevent any great difference or confusion in their manners; that so they might be formed from their infancy, and persuaded to walk together in the same paths of virtue? Lycurgus found the utility of this in several respects, and particularly in securing the continuance of his laws. For the oath, which the Spartans had taken, would have availed but little, if the youth had not been already imbued with his discipline, and imbibed with their milk a zeal for his establishments. Nay, so strong and deep was the tincture, that the principal laws which he enacted continued in force for more than five hundred years. But the primary view of Numa's government, which was to settle the Romans in lasting peace and tran-

⁹ But it should be stated, notwithstanding Aristotle's panegyric upon this part of Lycurgus' code (*Pol.* viii. 1.), that what was perhaps well adapted to the petty district of Sparta, might for that very reason be inconvenient, if not impracticable, in the swelling empire of Rome.*

quillity, immediately vanished with him : and after his death the temple of Janus, which he had kept shut (as if he had really held war in prison and subjection) was thrown wide open, and Italy deluged with blood¹⁰. The beautiful pile of justice, which he had reared, being without the cement of education, presently fell to the ground.

You will ask then, Was not Rome bettered by her wars¹¹? A question this, which requires a long answer, to satisfy such as place the happiness of a state in riches, luxury, and an extent of dominion, rather than in security, equity, temperance, and content. It may seem however to afford an argument in favour of Lycurgus, that the Romans upon quitting the discipline of Numa, soon attained a much higher degree of power ; whereas the Lacedæmonians as soon as they departed from the institutions of Lycurgus, from being the most respectable people of Greece became the meanest, and were in danger of being absolutely destroyed. On the other hand, it must imply something truly great and divine in Numa, to have been invited from another country to the throne ; by means of persuasion only to have effected so many alterations ; to have reigned undisturbed over a city not yet united in itself, without the use of an armed force (to which Lycurgus was obliged to have recourse, when he availed himself of the aid of the nobility against the commons) and, singly by his wisdom and justice, to have conciliated and combined all his subjects in peace.

¹⁰ In the wars with the Fidenates, the Albans, the Latins, &c.

¹¹ Aggrandised she was, but surely not bettered. For, to say nothing of the turbulent period of her growth, may we not reasonably with M. Ricard impute to her very successes her ultimate decay and downfall? *Mole ruit suâ*, in the mouth of her own bard, was no poetical fiction. The only solid basis of national grandeur is, Morals and Virtue ; and these are the invariable objects of sound and enlightened policy.*

THE
LIFE
OF
SOLON.

SUMMARY.

Extraction of Solon. His character, and manners. In his youth, he engages in merchandise. His taste for poetry, and moral philosophy. The golden tripod offered to each of the Seven Sages, and rejected by them all. Interview of Solon and Anacharsis. His conversation with Thales. The fear of losing should not damp the ardour of acquiring what is necessary, or convenient. An account of his Elegy upon Salamis. The conquest of that island. Another history of the expedition. The Lacedæmonians chosen as arbitrators upon the subject. Solon's zeal for the temple of Delphi. The Cylonian conspiracy. Epimenides purifies Athens. That city split into many factions. Solon selected as mediator. He refuses the crown. Enacts laws for his countrymen. Introduces an Act of Discharge. His treatment upon that occasion. He repeals Draco's laws. Classes the people, in reference to their income. Institution of the Arcopagus. Laws with regard to seditious, marriages, respect for the dead, mulcts for damages; concerning wills, women, children; against adultery, and rape; about wells, trees, &c. Right of citizenship: City-feasts. His laws confirmed for a hundred years. He regulates the lunar month. Travels to Egypt and Cyprus, and has an interview with Cræsus; who, after his defeat by Cyrus, repeats Solon's conversation, and thus preserves his life. Solon, upon his return, finds the city again rent into parties. Tragedies of Thespis. Stratagem of Pisistratus. Solon's steadiness. His Poem on the Atlantic Isle. His death.

DIDYMUS the grammarian¹, in his answer to Asclepiades concerning the laws of Solon, cites the testimony of one Philocles, by which he would prove that legislator, in opposition to the opinion of others who have written about him, the son of Euphorion. For they all with one voice declare, that Execestides was his father; a man of moderate fortune and power, but of the noblest family in Athens, being descended from Codrus. His mother, according to Heraclides of Pontus, was cousin-german to the mother of Pisistratus. This tie of kindred at first united Solon and Pisistratus in a very intimate friendship, which was drawn closer (if we may believe some writers) by the regard, which the former had for the beauty and excellent qualities of the latter². Hence we may believe it

¹ Of Alexandria, of the school of Aristarchus, and contemporary with Augustus. His commentaries, chiefly upon the orators and poets of Greece, are said by some writers to have amounted to four thousand! The scholiast on Homer, of the same name, was of a much later date.*

² Pisistratus was remarkably courteous, affable, and liberal. He had always two or three slaves near him, with bags of silver coin: when he saw any man look sickly, or heard that any one had died insolvent, he relieved the one, and buried the other at his own expense. When he perceived people melancholy, he inquired the cause; and if he found it was poverty, he furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly. Nay, he left even his gardens and orchards open, and the fruit free to the citizens. His looks were easy and sedate, his language soft and modest. In short, if his virtues had been genuine, and not dissembled with a view to the tyranny of Athens, he would (as Solon told him) have been the best citizen in it. (L.) He is highly complimented by Herodotus (i. 39.) for his administration, and for his eloquence and learning by Cicero (De Orat. iii. 34.), who adds '*primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse fertur, ut nunc habemus.*' But this honour is claimed by Plutarch (as we have already seen) for Lycurgus, by Diogenes Laërtius for Solon, and by Plato for Hipparchus. And these may all perhaps, as M. Ricard thinks, be approximated, though not strictly reconciled to each other, by supposing that Lycurgus first collected them, and brought them into Greece; that Solon improved their arrangement, and that Pisistratus afterward made some alterations, with the as-

was, that when they subsequently differed about matters of state, this dissension broke not out into any harsh or ungenerous treatment of each other; but their first union kept some hold of their hearts, and the sparks of the ardent flame and tenderness of former friendship still glowed in their bosoms.

That Solon was unable to withstand the attractions of beauty, and sunk like a feeble wrestler under the force of love, is sufficiently evident both from his poems, and from his having enacted a law which forbade slaves to anoint themselves³, or to form attachments to youth: thus classing such attachments among things honourable and praiseworthy, and virtually recommending them to the more respectable, by forbidding them to the base. It is said too, that Pisistratus was enamoured of Charmas, and dedicated to him a statue of Love in the Academy, near the place where those who run the sacred torch-race light their torches⁴.

Solon's father having hurt his fortune⁵, as Her-

sistance of his son Hipparchus, who (as *Ælian*, Var. Hist. viii. 2., informs us) first introduced them into Athens.*

³ This involved an exclusion from the exercises of the Gymnasium, of which slaves (it seems) were deemed unworthy.*

⁴ The torch-race was run thrice a-year at Athens; during the Panathenæa in honour of Minerva, and in honour of Vulcan and Prometheus likewise, upon their respective festivals. It's celebration was as follows: the young competitors lit their torches at the altar of Prometheus in the Ceramicus, and with their utmost speed ran toward the city. He, whose torch went out during the course, gave place to the next; and the victory was adjudged to him, who first reached the goal without such an accident. (*Pausan.* i. 30.)*

⁵ Aristotle reckons Solon himself among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it. The truth is, that Solon was never rich. In his youth, he was much addicted to poetry. And Plato in his *Timæus* says, that if he had finished all his poems (particularly the History of the Atlantic Isle, which he brought out of Egypt) and had taken time to revise and correct them as others did, neither Homer, Hesiod, nor any other ancient poet would have been more illustrious. It is evident, both from his life and writings, that he was a person not only of exalted virtue, but of a pleasant and agreeable temper. He considered men, as men; and keeping at once their capacity for virtue, and their proneness to evil in view, adapted his laws so as to strengthen and support the one, and

mippus informs us, by indulging his great and munificent spirit, though the son might have been supported by his friends, yet as he was of a family that had long been accustomed to assist others, he was ashamed to accept assistance; and therefore in his younger years engaged himself in merchandise. Some, however, say that he travelled rather to gratify his curiosity and extend his knowledge, than to make a fortune. For he professed his love of wisdom, and when far advanced in years made this declaration, "I grow old in the pursuit of learning." That he was not excessively attached to wealth, we may gather from the following verses:

The man that boasts of golden stores,
Of grain that loads his bending floors,
Of fields with freshening herbage green,
Where bounding steeds and herds are seen;
I call not happier than the swain
Whose limbs are sound, whose food is plain,
Whose joys a blooming wife endears,
Whose hours a smiling offspring cheers ⁶.

Yet in another place he says:

The flow of riches I desire,
And fain would life's true goods acquire;
But let me justly them attain,
Lest vengeance follow in their train.

A good man indeed, and a valuable member of society, should neither set his heart upon superfluities, nor reject the use of what is necessary and convenient. And in those times, as Hesiod ⁷ states, no business was regarded as a disparagement, neither did any trade cause a disadvantageous distinction. The pro-

to check and regulate the other. His institutions are as remarkable for their sweetness and practicability, as those of Lycurgus for their harshness and violence to human nature.

⁶ This passage, and another below, are now found among the Sentences of Theognis.

⁷ Εργ. και Ημ. 309.

fession of merchandise was honourable, as it brought home the produce of barbarous countries, engaged the friendship of kings, and opened a wide field of knowledge and experience. Nay, some merchants have been founders of large cities; Protus⁸, for instance, that built Marseilles, for whom the Gauls about the Rhone had the highest esteem. Thales⁹ also, and Hippocrates the mathematician, are said to have applied themselves to commerce; and the oil, which Plato sold in Egypt¹⁰, defrayed the expense of his travels.

If Solon was too extravagant and luxurious in his way of living, and indulged his poetical vein in his description of pleasure too freely for a philosopher, it is imputed to his mercantile life. For as he had passed through many considerable dangers, he might surely compensate them with a little relaxation and enjoyment. But that he placed himself rather in the class of the poor, than of the rich, is evident from these lines :

For vice though Plenty fills her horn,
And virtue sinks in want and scorn;
Yet never, sure, shall Solon change
His truth for wealth's most easy range!
Since virtue lives, and truth shall stand,
While wealth eludes the grasping hand.

He seems to have made use of his poetical talent at

⁸ Perhaps Protis—mentioned by Justin, as one of the chief emigrants who fled from Phocis to avoid the power of Persia, and founded Marseilles. To the same name the same colony is likewise ascribed by Aristotle. (Athen. xiii. 5.)*

⁹ The concern here ascribed to Thales, in traffic, was most probably that recorded of him by Diogenes Laërtius in his Life (i. 26.), who relates, that to show the ease with which riches might be acquired, and foreseeing by his meteorological skill an abundant crop of olives, he bought the whole produce before-hand, and made an immense fortune by the speculation.*

¹⁰ It was usual to trade into Egypt with the oil of Greece and Judæa. It is said in the prophet Hosea (xii. 1.) ' Ephraim carrieth oil into Egypt.' (L.) This indeed was the only produce of Attica, which from it's abundance Solon allowed to be exported.*

first, not for any serious purpose, but only for amusement and to fill up his hours of leisure : afterward however he inserted moral sentences, and interwove many political transactions in his poems, not for the sake of recording or of remembering them; but sometimes by way of apology for his own administration, and sometimes to exhort, advise, or censure the citizens of Athens. Some are of opinion, that he attempted also to put his laws into verse, and they give us this beginning :

Supreme of gods, whose power we first address
This plan to honour, and these laws to bless.

Like most of the sages of those times, he cultivated chiefly that part of moral philosophy, which treats of civil obligations. His physics were of a very simple and ancient¹¹ cast, as appears from the following lines :

From cloudy vapours fall the treasured snows,
And piercing hail: from lightning's flashes flows
The thunder; winds embroil the main serene,
Than whose unruffled breast no smoother scene
Shines 'mid the works of nature !——

Upon the whole, Thales appears to have been the only philosopher, who then carried his speculations beyond things in common use, while the rest of the Wise Men acquired their character by rules for social life.

These are reported to have met at Delphi, and

¹¹ That is, in other words, 'shallow and superficial.' The nature indeed of physics, the conclusions of which depend upon a long and tedious series of experiments, renders it impossible that the ancient cultivators of that delightful science should have been either accurate or profound. M. Ricard, who expatiates upon Solon's mistakes, rightly represents it as no sufficient apology to plead, that they occur in poetry. Since the publication of Dr. Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, we know that it is possible for poetry generally brilliant, and philosophy frequently just, to exist in union.*

subsequently at Corinth upon the invitation of Periander, who made provision for their entertainment. But what contributed most to their honour, was their sending the tripod from one to another, with an ambition to outvie each other in modesty. The story is this: when some Coäns were drawing a net, certain strangers from Miletus bought the draught unseen. It proved to be a golden tripod, which Helen, as she sailed from Troy, is said to have thrown in there, in compliance with an ancient oracle. A dispute arising at first between the strangers and the fishermen about the tripod, and afterward extending itself to the states to which they belonged, so as to engage them in hostilities, the priestess of Apollo took up the matter, by ordering that the wisest man they could find should have the tripod. And first it was sent to Thales at Miletus, the Coäns voluntarily presenting that to one of the Milesians, for which they had gone to war with them all. Thales declared, that Bias was a wiser man than he; to him, therefore, it was conveyed. He sent it to another, as wiser still. After making a farther circuit, it came to Thales the second time; and was finally carried from Miletus to Thebes, and dedicated to the Ismenian¹² Apollo. Theophrastus relates, that the tripod was first sent to Bias, at Priene; that Bias sent it back again to Thales, at Miletus; that so having passed through the hands of the seven, it came round to Bias again, and was at last sent to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. This is the most current account: yet some say, the present was not a tripod, but a bowl sent by Cræsus; and others, that it was a cup which one Bathycles had left for that purpose.

We have a particular account of a conversation which Solon had with Anacharsis¹³, and of another

¹² An epithet derived from a temple consecrated to that deity upon the banks of the Ismenus, which flowed near Thebes.*

¹³ The Scythians, long before the days of Solon, had been celebrated for their frugality, temperance, and justice. Anacharsis was

which he had with Thales. Anacharsis went to Solon's house at Athens, knocked at the door, and said "he was a stranger, who desired to enter into engagements of friendship and mutual hospitality with him." Solon replied, "Friendships are best formed at home." "Then do you," said Anacharsis, "who are at home, make me your friend, and receive me into your house." Struck with the quickness of his repartee, Solon gave him a kind welcome, and kept him some time with him, being then employed in publick affairs and in modelling his laws. When Anacharsis knew what Solon was about, he laughed at his undertaking, and at the absurdity of imagining that he could restrain the avarice and injustice of his citizens by written laws; which in all respects resembled spiders' webs, and would like them only entangle and hold the poor and weak, while the powerful and the wealthy easily broke through. Upon this Solon remarked, "Men keep their agreements, when it is an advantage to both parties not to break them; and he would so frame his laws, as to make it evident to the Athenians, that it would be more for their interest to observe, than to transgress them." The event, however, showed that Anacharsis was nearer to the truth in his conjecture, than Solon in his hope. Anacharsis, having seen an assembly of the people at Athens, said; "He was surprised to find, that in Greece wise men pleaded causes, and fools determined them."

When Solon was entertained by Thales at Miletus,

one of these Scythians, and a prince of the blood. He went to Athens about the forty-seventh Olympiad, that is, B. C. 590. His good sense, knowledge, and experience made him pass for one of the Seven Wise Men. But the wisest have their inconsistencies: for such it certainly was in Anacharsis, to carry back with him the Grecian rites of Cybele, contrary to the laws of his country. Though he performed those rites however privately, a Scythian happened to see him, and acquainted the king his brother with it, who immediately came, and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. (Herodot. iv. 76.)

he expressed some wonder, that he did not marry and raise a family. To this Thales gave no immediate answer; but some days afterward he instructed a stranger to say, "That he had left Athens ten days ago." Solon inquiring, "What news there was at that place?" the man, according to his instructions, replied; "None, except the funeral of a young man, which was attended by the whole city. For he was the son (they told me) of a person of great honour, and of the highest reputation for virtue, who was then abroad upon his travels." "Unhappy man!" said Solon: "but what was his name?" "I have heard his name," answered the stranger, "but I do not recollect it. All I remember is, that there was much talk of his wisdom and justice." Solon, whose apprehensions increased with every reply, was now much disconcerted, and mentioned his own name, asking; "Whether it was not Solon's son, that was dead?" The stranger replying in the affirmative, he began to beat his head, and to do and say such things as are usual with men in a transport of grief¹⁴. Upon this Thales, taking him by the hand, said with a smile; "These things, which strike down so firm a man as Solon, kept me from marriage and from having children. But take courage, my good friend, for not a syllable of what has been told you is true." Herippus says, he took this story from Patæcus, who used to boast that he had the soul of Æsop.

But after all, to neglect the procuring of what is necessary or convenient in life, from the apprehen-

¹⁴ Solon (whether upon this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain) being desired not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing; answered, with much humanity and good sense, 'And for that I weep.' (L.) This is the turn of Gray's Sonnet on the Death of West, a sonnet, to which Mason unhesitatingly applies Boileau's *sans défauts*:

I fruitless mourn to him that cannot hear,
And weep the more, because I weep in vain.*

sion of losing it, would be acting a very mean and absurd part. By the same rule a man might refuse the enjoyment of riches, or honour, or wisdom, because it is possible for him to be deprived of them again. Even the excellent qualities of the mind, the most valuable and pleasing possession in the world, we see destroyed by poisonous drugs or by the violence of some disease. Nay, Thales himself could not be secure from fears by living single, unless he had renounced all interest in his friends, his relations, and his country. Instead of that, however, he is said to have adopted his sister's son, named Cybisthus. The soul indeed has not only a principle of sense, and understanding, and memory, but of love; and, when it has nothing at home to engage it's affection, it unites itself and adheres to something abroad. Strangers or persons of spurious birth often insinuate themselves into such a man's heart, as into a house or land that has no lawful heirs, and together with love bring a train of cares and apprehensions for them. It is not uncommon to hear persons of a morose temper, who talk against marriage and a family, uttering the most abject complaints, when a child which they have had by a slave or a concubine happens to sicken or die. Nay, some have expressed a very great regret upon the death of dogs and horses; while others have borne the loss of valuable children without any severe affliction, or at least without any indecent sorrow, and have passed the rest of their days in calmness and composure. It is certainly weakness, not affection, which brings infinite troubles and fears upon men, unfortified by reason against the power of fortune; who have no enjoyment of a present good, because of their apprehensions, and of the real anguish which they find in anticipating it's loss. No man surely should take refuge in poverty, to guard against the loss of an estate; nor remain in the unsocial state of celibacy, that he may have neither friends

nor children to lose: he should be armed by reason against all events. But in this discussion, perhaps, we have been too diffuse.

When the Athenians, tired out with a long and troublesome war against the inhabitants of Megara for the isle of Salamis, had enacted that no one for the future, under pain of death, should either by speech or writing persuade the city to assert its claim to that island; Solon, deeply concerned at so dishonourable a decree, and observing great part of the youth desirous to recommence the war, and restrained from it only by their fear of the law, feigned himself insane¹⁵: and a report spread from his house into the city, that he was out of his senses. He had privately however composed an elegy, and got it by heart, in order to repeat it in public: thus prepared, he sallied out unexpectedly into the market-place, with a cap upon his head¹⁶. A great number of people flocked about him, he mounted the heralds' stone, and sung the elegy which begins thus,

A herald from fair Salamis I come,
And bring you noble verses—

This composition is entitled 'Salamis,' and consists of a hundred very beautiful lines. When Solon had finished, his friends began to express their admiration, and Pisistratus in particular exerted himself in persuading the people to comply with his directions; upon which they repealed the law, once more undertook the war, and invested Solon with the command. The common account of his proceedings is as follows: He sailed with Pisistratus to

¹⁵ When the Athenians were delivered from their fears by the death of Epaminondas, they began to squander away upon shows and plays that money, which had been assigned for the pay of the army and navy; and, at the same time, they made it death for any one to propose a reformation. In that case Demosthenes did not, like Solon, attack their error under a pretence of insanity; but boldly and resolutely spoke against it, and by the force of his eloquence induced them to correct it.

¹⁶ None wore caps, but the sick.

Colias, and having seized the women who, according to the custom of the country, were there offering sacrifice to Ceres, he despatched a trusty person to Salamis to feign himself a deserter, and to advise the Megarensians, if they had a mind to get possession of the principal Athenian matrons, to set sail immediately for Colias. The Megarensians readily embracing the proposal, and sending out a body of men, Solon discovered the ship as it put off from the island; and causing the women instantly to withdraw, ordered a number of young men, whose faces were yet smooth, to dress themselves in their habits, caps, and shoes. In this disguise, with weapons concealed under their clothes, they were to dance and play by the sea-side, till the enemy had landed, and the vessel was near enough to be seized. Matters being thus ordered, the Megarensians were deceived with the appearance, and ran confusedly on shore, striving which should first lay hold on the women. But they met with so warm a reception, that they were cut off to a man: and the Athenians, embarking immediately for Salamis, took possession of the island.

Others affirm, that it was not recovered in this manner; but that Apollo, being first consulted at Delphi, replied,

Go, to the country's chiefs due honours pay,
Hid in Æscopus' lap, whose mouldering clay,
Fronts the declining sun.

Upon this, Solon crossed the sea by night, and offered sacrifices in Salamis to the heroes Periphemus and Cichreus¹⁷. Then taking five hundred Athenian volunteers, who had obtained a decree, that if they conquered the island the government of it should be

¹⁷ Cichreus was a king of Salamis, and had a temple consecrated to him in that island. Pausanias (i. 36.) relates that during a naval engagement between the Athenians and the Persians, a large serpent was seen upon one of the Athenian vessels, which, as Apollo informed them, was the hero Cichreus.*

invested in them, he sailed with a number of fishing-vessels and one galley of thirty oars for Salamis, where he cast anchor at a point looking toward Eubœa.

The Megarensians that were in the place, having heard a confused report of what had happened, ran in a disorderly manner to arms, and sent a ship to discover the enemy. As the ship approached too near, Solon took it; and, securing the crew, put in their place some of the bravest of the Athenians, with orders to make the best of their way to the city as privately as possible. In the mean time, with the rest of his men, he attacked the Megarensians by land; and, while these were engaged, those from the ship took the city. A custom, which afterward prevailed, seems to attest the truth of this account. For an Athenian ship once a year passed silently to Salamis, and the inhabitants coming down upon it with noise and tumult, one man in armour leaped ashore, and ran shouting toward the promontory of Sciradium, to meet those who were advancing by land. Near that place is a temple of Mars erected by Solon: for there it was, that he defeated the Megarensians, and dismissed upon certain conditions such as were not slain in battle.

The people of Megara however persisted in their claim, till both sides had severely felt the calamities of war, and they then referred the affair to the decision of the Lacedæmonians. Many authors relate that Solon availed himself of a passage in Homer's catalogue of ships, which he quoted before the arbitrators, dexterously inserting a line of his own: for to this verse,

Ajax from Salamis twelve ships commands,

he is said to have added,

And ranks his forces with th' Athenian bands¹⁸.

¹⁸ This line could be no sufficient evidence; for there are many passages in Homer, which prove that the ships of Ajax were sta-

But the Athenians regard this as an idle story; and by their account Solon made it appear to the judges, that Philæus and Eurysaces the sons of Ajax, being admitted by the Athenians to the freedom of their city, gave up to them the island; and removed, the one to Brauron in Attica, and the other to Melite: and, that from that Philæus likewise the tribe of the Philaïdæ, of which Pisistratus was, had it's name. He brought another argument against the Megarensians, from the manner of burying in Salamis, which was agreeable to the custom of Athens, and contrary to that of Megara; for the Megarensians inter the dead with their face to the east, and the Athenians turn their's to the west¹⁹. On the other hand, Hereas of Megara insists, that the Megarensians likewise turn the faces of their dead to the west; and moreover that, like the people of Salamis, they put three or four corpses in one tomb, whereas the Athenians have a separate tomb for each²⁰. But Solon's cause was farther assisted by certain oracles of Apollo, in which the island was called 'Ionian'²¹ Salamis.' This matter was determined by five Spartans, Critolaïdes, Anompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes.

Solon gained considerable honour and authority in Athens by this affair; but he acquired still greater glory and celebrity among the Grecians in general, by negotiating succours for the temple at Delphi, against the insolent and injurious behaviour of the

tioned near the Thessalians. Il. xiii. 681., &c. (Strabo. x.) (L.) Philæus, mentioned below (according to Pausan. i. 25.) was the grandson of Ajax.*

¹⁹ This is indeed positively denied by Diogenes Laërtius, but most probably by mistake, as Ælian (Var. Hist. vii. 19.) agrees with Plutarch upon the mode of Athenian sepulture. With regard to that of the Megarensians, however, he differs from him; as he says that they assigned their dead no determined position, but left it entirely to chance.*

²⁰ Probably, as M. Ricard suggests, from the relative extent of the population and territory of the two countries.*

²¹ Ancient Ionia only comprehended Attica.*

Cirrhaeans²², and by persuading the Greeks to arm for the honour of the god. Upon his motion, the Amphictyons declared war; as Aristotle among others testifies, in his Book concerning the Pythian games, in which he attributes the measure to Solon. (He was not, however, appointed general in that war, as Hermippus relates from Euanthes the Samian. For Æschines, the orator, states no such appointment; and we find in the records of Delphi that Alcmaeon, not Solon, commanded the Athenians upon that occasion.

The execrable proceedings against the accomplices of Cylon²³ had long occasioned great troubles

²² The inhabitants of Cirrha, a town seated on the bay of Corinth, after having by repeated incursions wasted the neighbouring territory of Delphi, besieged the city itself, from a desire of making themselves masters of the riches contained in the temple of Apollo. Advice of this being sent to the Amphictyons, who were the States-General of Greece, Solon advised that the matter should be universally resented. Accordingly Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, was despatched as commander-in-chief against the Cirrhaeans; Alcmaeon was general of the Athenian quota; and Solon went as counsellor or assistant to Clisthenes. When the Greek army had besieged Cirrha some time, without much appearance of success, Apollo was consulted; who answered, that they would never be able to reduce the place, till the waves of the Cirrhaean sea washed the territories of Delphi. This answer struck the army with surprise; but it was soon removed by Solon, who advised Clisthenes to consecrate the whole territories of Cirrha to the Delphic Apollo, whence it would follow that the sea must wash the sacred coast. Cirrha was now taken, and became thenceforth the arsenal of Delphi. (L.) Pausanias (Phoc. x. 37.) mentions another stratagem, less worthy of Solon; the turning of the river Plistus, which supplied Cirrha with water, and afterward impregnating it with the violently emetic root of hellebore.*

²³ For a long time after the democracy took place, there was a strong party against it, who left no measures untried, in order if possible to restore their ancient form of government. Cylon a man of quality, and son-in-law to Theagenes tyrant of Megara, repined at the sudden change of the magistrates, and hated the thoughts of soliciting that as a favour, which he had been accustomed to regard as due to his birth-right. He formed therefore a design to seize the citadel, which in the forty-fifth Olympiad, when many of the citizens were gone to the Olympic games, he carried into effect. Megacles, who was at that time chief Archon, with the other magistrates and the whole power of Athens, immediately laid siege to it: and reduced the conspirators to such distress, that Cylon and

in the Athenian state. The conspirators had taken sanctuary in Minerva's temple: but Megacles, then Archon, persuaded them to quit it, and stand their trial; under the notion that if they tied a thread to the shrine of the goddess, and kept hold of it, they should still be under her protection. As soon as they came over-against the temple of the Furies, however, the thread broke of itself; upon which, Megacles and his colleagues rushed upon them and seized them, as if they had lost their privilege. Such as were out of the temple, were stoned; those, who fled to the altars, were there cut in pieces; and they alone were spared, who made application to the wives of the magistrates. From that time those magistrates were called 'execrable,' and became objects of the public hatred. The remains of Cylon's faction subsequently recovered strength, and kept up the quarrel with the descendents of Megacles. The dispute ran higher, and the two parties were more exasperated than ever, when Solon (whose authority was now very great) and other principal Athenians interposed, and by entreaties and arguments persuaded the 'execrables' to submit to justice and a fair trial, before three hundred judges selected from the nobility. Myron, of the Phylensian ward, managed the impeachment, and they were condemned: As many as were alive, were driven into exile; and the bodies of the dead were dug up, and cast out beyond the borders of Attica. Amidst these disturbances, the Megarensians renewed the war, took Nisæa²⁴ from the Athenians, and once more recovered Salamis.

his brother fled, and left the meaner sort to shift for themselves. Those, who escaped the sword, took refuge (as Plutarch relates) in Minerva's temple; and though they had deserved death for having conspired against the government, yet the magistrates, by putting them to death in breach of the privilege of sanctuary, brought upon themselves the indignation of the superstitious Athenians, who deemed such conduct a greater crime than treason. (L.) The whole story, condensed by Herodotus (v. 71.), is related in detail by Thucydides (i. 126).*

²⁴ A city situated upon the gulf of Corinth.*

About this time, the city was likewise afflicted with superstitious fears, and strange appearances: and the soothsayers declared, that there were certain abominable crimes, pointed out by the entrails of the victims, which demanded expiation. Upon this, they sent to Crete for Epimenides the Phœstian²⁵, who is reckoned the seventh among the Wise Men, by those that do not admit Periander into the number. He was reputed a man of great piety, beloved by the gods, and skilled in matters of religion, particularly in what related to inspiration and the sacred mysteries: whence the men of those days called him the son of the nymph Balte, and one of the Curetes revived. Upon his arrival at Athens, he contracted a friendship with Solon, and privately gave him considerable assistance, preparing the way for the reception of his laws. For he taught the Athenians to be more frugal in their religious worship, and more moderate in their mourning, by intermixing certain sacrifices with the funeral so-

²⁵ This Epimenides was a very extraordinary person. Diogenes Laërtius informs us, that he was the inventor of the art of lustrating or purifying houses, fields, and persons; which, if confined to Greece, may be true: but Moses had long before taught the Hebrews something of the same nature. (Levit. xvi.) Epimenides took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the Areopagus, and turning them loose, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they lay down, and there sacrifice them to the deity of the place. Altars were then erected in all these places, to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. (L.) Altars, uninscribed with any name, as Diogenes Laërtius informs us, existed in his time. Qu.? Might not the altar, inscribed "To the Unknown God" (Acts xvii. 23.), have been erected upon this or a similar occasion; and the Apostle have thence taken occasion to "declare to the Athenians Him, whom they ignorantly worshipped?" The only compensation, which Epimenides requested for his trouble, was that the Athenians would contract an alliance with his countrymen in Crete. The fables of his fifty or fifty-seven years' sleep, of his moderate and mysterious sustenance which was unproductive of secretions of any kind, and of the extreme old age at which he died, are too generally known to require recital.*

There were other ceremonies practised for the purpose of lustration, of which Tzetzes in his poetical chronicle gives a particular account, but which are too trifling to be here mentioned. (L)

lemnities, and abolishing the cruel and barbarous customs which had generally prevailed among the women before²⁶. And what was of still greater consequence, by expiations, lustrations, and the erecting of temples and shrines, he hallowed and purified the city, and made the people more observant of justice and more inclined to union.

When he had seen Munychia, and considered it some time, he is reported to have said to those about him²⁷, "How blind is man to futurity! If the Athenians could foresee what trouble that place will give them, they would tear it in pieces with their teeth." Something similar to this is related of Thales. For he ordered the Milesians to bury him in a certain obscure and neglected place, and foretold, at the same time, that there the market-place would one day stand. As for Epimenides, he was held in admiration at Athens: high honours and many valuable presents were offered him; but he requested nothing, except a branch of the sacred olive, and with that he departed.

When the troubles about Cylon's affair were over, and the sacrilegious persons removed, in the manner which we have mentioned, the Athenians relapsed into their old disputes concerning the government; for there were as many parties among them, as there

²⁶ Of beating themselves, and tearing their hair, faces, &c. as hereafter mentioned.*

²⁷ This prediction was fulfilled 270 years afterward, when Antipater constrained the Athenians to admit his garrison into that place. (See Plut. Life of Demosthenes, and Diod. Sic. xviii. 18. xx. 45.) Beside this prophecy, Epimenides (according to Plato) uttered another, during his stay at Athens; for, hearing that the citizens were alarmed by the progress of the Persian power at sea, he advised them to make themselves easy, as that people would not for many years attempt any thing against the Greeks; and, when they did, would receive heavier loss than they would be able to inflict. (Laërt. in Vit.) (L.) This passage Clem. Alex. (Strom. v.) misinterprets, as if by his sacrifices he had suspended the Persian invasion. A great many works are ascribed to Epimenides by the ancients. One of his hexameters (from a Treatise, as it is conjectured by St. Jerom and others, upon Oracles) has had the honour of being quoted by St. Paul (Tit. i. 12.)*

were different tracts of land in their country. The inhabitants of the mountainous part were for a democracy; those of the plains for an oligarchy; and those of the sea-coasts, contending for a mixed kind of government, prevented either of the other two from gaining their respective points. At the same time, the inequality between the poor and the rich occasioned the greatest discord, and the state was in so dangerous a situation, that there seemed to be no method of quelling the seditious, or of saving it from ruin, but by converting it into a monarchy. So greatly were the poor in debt to the rich, that they were obliged either to pay them a sixth part of the produce of the land (whence they were called *Hectemorii*, and *Thetes*), or to engage their persons to their creditors, who might seize them upon failure of payment. Accordingly, some made slaves of them, and others sold them to foreigners. Nay, some parents, to avoid the severe treatment of those usurers, were forced to sell their own children (for this no law forbade) and to quit the city. The more numerous and spirited part of the inhabitants, however, agreed to stand by each other, and not to bear such impositions any longer; but, choosing a trusty person for their leader, to deliver those who had failed in their time of payment, to divide the land, and to give an entire new face to the commonwealth.

At that time the most prudent of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, as a man the least obnoxious to either party, having neither been engaged in oppressions with the rich, nor entangled in necessities with the poor. Him therefore they entreated to assist the public in this exigency, and to compose these differences. Phanias the Lesbian indeed asserts that Solon, to save the state, dealt artfully with them both, and privately promised to the poor a division of the lands, and to the rich a confirmation of their securities. At first, on account of the avarice of some and the insolence of others, he was loth to take upon him the administration: he was,

however, chosen archon next after Philombrotus, and at the same time arbitrator and lawgiver; the rich accepting him readily, as one of themselves, and the poor, as a good and worthy man. They tell us likewise, that a saying of his (which he had uttered some time before), "Equality causes no war," was then much repeated, and pleased both the rich and the poor; the latter expecting to come to a balance by their numbers, and by the measure of divided lands; and the former to preserve at least an equality, by their dignity and power. Thus both parties cherishing great hopes, their heads were urgent with Solon to make himself king; and endeavoured to persuade him, that he might with better assurance take upon himself the direction of a city, where he had the supreme authority. Nay, many of the citizens who leaned not to either party, seeing the intended change difficult to be effected by reason and law, were willing to entrust the government to the hands of one wise and just man. Some writers also add, that he received the following oracle from Apollo:

Seize, seize the helm; the reeling vessel guide:
With aiding patriots stem the raging tide.

His friends in particular suggested, that he would appear deficient in courage, if he rejected the monarchy from a fear of the name of 'Tyrant²⁸;' asserting, that the sole and supreme power would soon become a lawful sovereignty through the virtues of him, upon whom it was bestowed. "Thus formerly" (said they) the Eubœans set up Tynnondas, and "more recently the Mitylenæans Pittacus for their

²⁸ It should here be remarked, that the term 'Tyrant' was not used among the ancients in the odious acceptation, which it very deservedly has in these days; but generally implied a legitimate authority, exercised with justice and moderation. The maxim which follows, stretched to it's full extent, is horrible; as it might be used to justify every usurpation.*

“ prince²⁹.” None of these observations moved Solon from his purpose; and the answer, which he is said to have given to his friends, was, “ Absolute monarchy is a fair field, but it has no outlet.” And, in one of his poems, he thus addresses himself to his friend Phocus;

If on my country I disdain'd to prey,
If gilded violence and lordly sway
Fail'd to seduce me, thence I bear no shame;
Still thrives the gentle honour of my name:
There stands my empire.

Whence it is evident, that his reputation was very great, before he appeared in the character of a legislator. As for the ridicule, which he incurred by rejecting kingly power, he has described it in the following verses:

Nor wisdom's palm to Solon's lot is given,
Nor deep-laid craft: for when indulgent heaven
Offer'd it's noblest boon, he spurn'd the lure.
Where was his gallant spirit, when secure
He found, nor deign'd to drag to land his prey?
Who, to command fair Athens but a day,
Would not the morrow, with his race, have past
To cheerless exile in some wintry waste?

Thus has he in his Poems represented the multitude, and men of low minds, as discoursing about him. But, though he rejected absolute power, he proceeded with sufficient spirit in the administration:

²⁹ Pittacus, one of the Seven Wise Men, made himself master of Mitylene; for which Alcæus, who was his townsman and contemporary, and a friend to liberty, satirised him, as he did the other tyrants. Pittacus disregarded his censures; and having by his authority quelled the seditions of his citizens, and established peace and harmony among them, voluntarily quitted his power, and restored his country to it's liberty. (L.) Forced however, in his old age, by the unanimous suffrages of his fellow-citizens, to resume the helm, he pronounced the memorable maxim, that ‘ Virtue is not without her incumbrance.’ After accomplishing the purpose, for which he had been recalled to his high post, he again descended into the vale of private life.*

he made no concessions in behalf of the powerful; nor, in the framing of his laws, did he indulge the humour of his constituents. Where the existing establishment was tolerable, he neither applied remedies, nor used the incision-knife; lest he should throw the whole into disorder, and find himself afterward incapable of settling or composing it in the temperature which he could wish. He only introduced such alterations, as he trusted he could either by persuasion or authority enforce, making (as he says) "force and right conspire." Hence it was, that when subsequently questioned, "Whether or not he had provided the best laws for the Athenians?" he replied, "The best, which they were capable of receiving." And as the moderns observe, that the Athenians used to qualify the harshness of things by giving them softer and politer names, calling whores 'mistresses,' tributes 'contributions,' garrisons 'guards,' and prisons 'castles'; so Solon seems to have been the first, who distinguished the cancelling of debts by the name of 'a discharge.' For this was the first of his public acts, that debts should be forgiven, and that no man for the future should take the body of his debtor for security. Though, according to Androtion and some others, it was not by cancelling the debts, but by moderating the interest, that the poor were relieved; they yet thought themselves so happy in it, that they gave the name of 'discharge' to this act of humanity, as well as to the enlarging of measures and the value of money, by which it was accompanied. | For he ordered the mina, which before passed but for seventy-three drachmas, to go for a hundred: so that, as they paid the same in value but much less in weight, those who had great sums to advance were relieved, while those who received them were no losers. |

³⁰ Who does not recollect the courtly periphrasis of the Bastille used by Mr. Burke—"the king's castle?"*

The greater part of writers however affirm, that it was the abolition of past securities which was called 'a discharge;' and with these the Poems of Solon himself agree. For in them he values himself upon having taken away the marks of mortgaged land³¹, which before were almost every where set up, and made free such fields as were previously bound: and not only so, but of such citizens as were seizable by their creditors for debt, some, (he tells us) he had brought back from other countries, where they had wandered so long, that they had forgotten the Attic dialect; and others he had set at liberty, who had experienced a cruel slavery at home.

This affair indeed brought upon him the greatest trouble, which he had yet encountered: for when he undertook the annulling of debts, and was meditating a suitable speech and a proper method of introducing the business, he told some of his most intimate friends (Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus) that he intended only to abolish the debts, and not to meddle with the lands. These friends of his, hastening to make their advantage of the secret before the decree took place, borrowed large sums of the rich, and purchased estates with them. Subsequently, when the decree was published, they kept their possessions, without paying the money which they had borrowed; and this brought heavy charges and reflections upon Solon, as if he had not suffered with the rest, but had rather concurred with his friends in the fraud. This charge indeed was soon removed, by his being the first to comply with the law, and remitting a debt of five talents, which he had placed out at interest. Others, among whom is Polyzelus the Rhodian, say it was fifteen. His friends, however, went by the name of *Chreopidae*³², or 'debt-cutters,' ever afterward.

But the method, which he adopted, satisfied nei-

³¹ The Athenians had a custom of fixing up billets, to show that houses or lands were mortgaged.

³² This is an obvious pun upon the name *Cecropidae*, by which

ther the indigent nor the opulent. The latter were displeased at the cancelling of their bonds, and the former at not obtaining a division of lands: upon this they had fixed their hopes, and they complained that he had not, like Lycurgus, made all the citizens equal in estate. Lycurgus however, being the eleventh from Hercules and having reigned many years in Lacedæmon, had acquired great authority, interest, and connexions, of which he admirably knew how to avail himself in setting up a new form of government. Yet even he was obliged to have recourse to force, rather than to persuasion; and had an eye struck out in the dispute, before he could bring it to a lasting settlement, and establish such an union and equality, as left neither rich nor poor in the city. On the other hand, Solon's estate³³ was but moderate, not superior to that of some other commoners; and therefore he did not attempt to erect a commonwealth like that of Lycurgus, considering it as out of his power: but proceeded so far only, as he thought he could be supported by the confidence, which the people had in his probity and wisdom.

That he answered not the expectations of the generality, but offended them by falling short, appears from these verses of his:

Eyes, which once hail'd me sparkling at the view,
Those eyes with cold regard behold me now.

And yet, he says,

Who with such power, save I, could have allay'd
Their waves' loud roar, and not have sunk dismay'd³⁴?

the Athenians affected to call themselves, as the descendents of Cecrops, their first king:

Est ego Cecropides—

(Juv. viii. 46.)*

³³ That the passage in the original, *δημοτικὸς ὡς καὶ μέσος*, must refer to his *fortune*, is clear from the account above given by Plutarch of his *extraction*, which he represents as on the father's side royal. Aristotle likewise (Polit. iv. 11.) places him in this station, and adds that hence usually issue the best legislators.*

³⁴ ——— *πικρὴ ἐξέλη γαλα* is a proverbial expression, which will not

But being soon made sensible of the utility of the decree, they laid aside their complaints, offered a public sacrifice, which they called *Seisacthia* (or 'the sacrifice of the discharge'), and constituted Solon Lawgiver and Superintendent of the Commonwealth; committing to him the regulation not of a part only, but of the whole—the magistracies, the assemblies, the courts of judicature, and the senate; and leaving him to determine the qualification, number, and time of meeting for them all, as well as to abrogate or continue the former constitutions at his pleasure.

First then, he repealed the laws of Draco³⁵, except those concerning murder, because of the severity of their punishments, which for almost all offences were capital: even those, that had been convicted of idleness, were to suffer death; and such, as stole only a few apples or pot-herbs, were to be punished in the same manner as sacrilegious persons

bear a literal prose translation, much less a poetical one: it was necessary therefore to give a new turn to the sentence, only keeping the sense in view.

³⁵ Draco was Archon in the second (though some say, in the last) year of Ol. xxxix., about B. C. 623. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we nowhere find so much as ten lines together concerning him and his institutions. He may be considered as the first legislator of the Athenians; for the laws, or rather precepts, of Triptolemus were very few; viz. 'Honour your parents,' 'Worship the gods,' 'Hurt not animals.' Draco was the first of the Greeks, who punished adultery with death; and he esteemed murder so high a crime, that to imprint a deep abhorrence of it upon the mind, he ordained legal process to be carried on even against inanimate things, if they were accidentally the cause of death. But beside murder and adultery, which deserved death, he made a number of smaller offences capital; and that brought almost all his laws into disuse. (A. Gell. xi. 18.) See not. (73.) Their extravagant severity, like an edge too finely ground, hindered his *Thesmi*, as he called them, from striking deep. Porphyry (de Abstin.) has preserved one of them concerning divine worship; 'It is an everlasting law in Attica, that the gods are to be worshipped, and the heroes also, according to the customs of our ancestors; and in private only with a proper address, first-fruits, and annual libations.'

and murderers. Hence a saying of Demades³⁶, who lived long afterward, was much admired; "that Draco wrote his laws not with ink, but with blood." And he himself being asked, "Why he made death the punishment for most offences?" replied, "Small offences deserve it, and for the most heinous I can find no greater."

In the next place, Solon took an estimate of the estates of the citizens; intending to leave the great offices in the hands of the rich, but to give the rest of the people a share in the other departments, which they had not previously possessed. Those, who had a yearly income of five hundred measures in wet and dry goods, he placed in the first rank, and called *Pentacosimedimni*³⁷: the second consisted of those that could keep a horse, or whose lands produced three hundred measures; these were of the equestrian order, and denominated *Hippada telountes*. Those of the third class, who had but two hundred measures, were called *Zeugitæ*. The rest, named *Thetes*, were not admitted to any office; they had only a right to appear, and give their votes in the general assembly of the people. This, at first apparently a slight privilege, eventually proved to be of great importance, for by them most causes came at last to be decided; and in such

³⁶ An Athenian orator, contemporary with Philip and Alexander the Great.*

³⁷ The *Pentacosimedimni* paid a talent to the public treasury; the *Hippada telountes* were obliged, as the phrase signifies, to find a horse, and to serve as cavalry in the wars; the *Zeugitæ* were so called, as being a middle rank between the knights and those of the lowest order (for rowers, who have the middle bench between the Thalamites at the prow and the Thranites at the stern are so denominated); and though the *Thetes*, who paid no impost, had barely a vote in the general assemblies, yet that (as Plutarch observes), eventually proved a great privilege, most causes being brought by appeal before the people. (L.)—So great indeed, from the pernicious influence of corrupt demagogues, as ultimately (in the opinion of Aristotle, *Polit.* ii. 10.) to have reduced Athens under the odious despotism of the mob.*

matters, as were under the cognizance of the magistrates, there lay an appeal to the people. Besides, he is said purposely to have drawn up his laws in an obscure and ambiguous manner, in order to enlarge the authority of the popular tribunal. For, as disputants could not adjust their differences by the letter of the law, they were obliged to have recourse to living judges; I mean the whole body of citizens, who therefore had all controversies brought before them, and were in a manner superior to the laws. Of this equality he himself takes notice, in the following words:

By me the people their full rights maintain'd
Uninjured, unoppress'd: The great restrain'd
From lawless force, from rapine's fang the poor,
I made the mighty just, the weak secure.

Desirous yet farther to strengthen the common people, he empowered any man whatever to enter an action in behalf of one who had been injured. If a person had been assaulted, or suffered damage or violence, any one that was able and willing to do it might prosecute the offender. Thus the lawgiver wisely accustomed the citizens, as members of the same body, to feel and to resent one another's injuries. And we are told of a saying of his, agreeable to this law: Being asked, "What city was best modelled?" he answered, "That, where those who are not injured, are as ready to prosecute and punish offenders, as those who are."

When these points were adjusted, he established the council of the Areopagus³⁸, which was to con-

³⁸ The court of the Areopagus, though settled long before, had lost much of it's power by Draco's preferring the Ephetæ. In ancient times, and till Solon became legislator, it consisted of such persons as were most conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity; but Solon made it a rule, that those only should have a seat in it, who had borne the office of Archon. This produced the effect which he designed; it raised high the reputation of the Areopagites, and rendered their decrees so venerable,

sist of such as had borne the office of Archon³⁹, and he himself was one of the number. But observing that the people, now discharged from their debts, grew insolent and imperious, he proceeded to constitute another council or senate, of Four Hundred⁴⁰ (a hundred out of each tribe), by whom all affairs were to be previously considered; and ordered that no matter, without their approbation, should be laid before the general assembly. In the mean

that none contested or repined at them through a long course of ages.

³⁹ After the extinction of the race of the Medontidæ, the Athenians made the office of Archon annual; and, instead of one, created nine magistrates of that name. By the latter expedient, they provided against the too great power of a single person, as by the former they took away all apprehension of the Archon's usurping the sovereignty. In one word, they attained now what they had long sought, the rendering of their supreme magistrates dependent on the people. This remarkable æra of the completion of the Athenian democracy was Ol. xxiv. 1., B. C. 684. That these magistrates might however retain sufficient authority and dignity, they had high titles and honours annexed to their offices. The first was stiled by way of eminence *The Archon*, and *Eponymus*, and by his name the year was distinguished. The second was called *Basileus*, or 'King;' for they chose to have that title regarded as a secondary one: this officer had the care of religion. The third bore the name of *Polemarchus*, for war was his particular province. The other six had the title of *Thesmothetæ*, and were considered as the guardians of their laws; (L.) having the charge of preserving and explaining them, of reconciling their occasional contradictions, and of preventing them from falling into disuse. Prior to the election of all these magistrates, they underwent a very severe scrutiny with regard to their extraction (which, for the three preceding generations was to be strictly on both sides Athenian) their piety toward the gods, their parents, and their country; their fortune, &c. The magistracy itself continued till the time of the emperor Gallienus.*

⁴⁰ The number of tribes was raised by Callisthenes to ten, after he had driven out the Pisistratidæ, and this senate increased to five hundred, fifty being chosen out of each tribe. Toward the close of the year the president of each tribe gave in a list of candidates, out of whom the senators were elected by lot. The senators then appointed the officers, called Prytanæ. These, while the senate consisted of five hundred, were fifty in number; ten of whom, with the name of Proëdri, for the avoiding of confusion, presided a week: out of them was chosen an Epistates, or 'president,' whose office lasted but a single day.

time, the high court of the Areopagus were to be the inspectors and guardians of the laws. Thus he supposed the commonwealth, secured by two councils, as by two anchors, would be less liable to be shaken by tumults, and the people would become more orderly and peaceable. Most writers, as we have observed, affirm that the council of the Areopagus was of Solon's appointing; and in support of their assertion, it may be remarked, that Draco has made no mention of the Areopagites, but in capital causes constantly addresses himself to the Ephetæ: yet the eighth law of Solon's thirteenth table expressly enacts, that "Whoever were declared infamous, before Solon's Archonship, should be restored in honour; except such as having been condemned in the Areopagus, or by the Ephetæ, or by the kings in the Prytaneum, for murder or robbery or having attempted to usurp the government, had fled their country before the law was made." This then shows, on the contrary, that before Solon was chief magistrate and delivered his laws, the council of the Areopagus was in being. For who could have been condemned in the Areopagus before Solon's time, if he had been the first that erected it into a court of judicature⁴¹? Unless perhaps there be some obscurity or deficiency in the text, and the meaning be, that 'such as have been convicted of crimes *now* cognizable before the Areopagites, the Ephetæ⁴², and the Prytanes, shall continue infamous,

⁴¹ It appears however, both indirectly from the testimony of Aristotle, who affirms (Polit. ii. 10.) that Solon made no change in the existing institutions, and directly from that of Pausanias (iv. 5.) who relates a story of one Polichares, as charged with murder before that court one hundred and forty-one years before the time of Solon, that he only revived it's authority. (Acad. des Inscript. vii. 177.) It took cognisance of murder, of the crimes which fall under our Black Act, of arson, of poisoning, and of every thing relating to religion, which last article brought Socrates under it's animadversion.*

⁴² The Ephetæ were first appointed in the reign of Demophon, the son of Theseus, for the trying of wilful murders and cases of manslaughter. They originally consisted of fifty Athenians, and as

while all others are restored.' But this I submit to the judgement of the reader.

The most peculiar and surprising of his other laws is that, which declares the man infamous, that stands neuter in time of sedition⁴³. He would not have us indifferant, it seems, and insensible to the fate of the public, when our own concerns are in safety; nor backward, when we ourselves are in health, to sympathise with the distempers and distresses of our country. He would have us espouse the better and the juster cause, and hazard every thing in it's defence, rather than wait in safety to see to which side the victory will incline. That law too appears quite ridiculous and absurd, which permits a rich heiress, whose husband happens to be impotent, to console herself with his nearest relations. Yet some repre-

many Argives; but Draco excluded the Argives, and ordered that it should be composed of fifty-one of the most respectable Athenians, who were all to be above fifty (as Pollux, but as Suidas states, eighty) years of age. He also fixed their authority above that of the Areopagites; but Solon brought them under that court, and limited their jurisdiction.

⁴³ Aulus Gellius, who has preserved the very words of this law, adds, that one who so stood neuter should lose his houses, his country, and his estate, and be sent into exile. (Noct. Att. ii. 12.)

Plutarch, in another place, condemns this law, but Gellius highly commends it; because the wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to choose some side, matters were easily accommodated; whereas, if the latter only (as is generally the case with other cities) had the management of factions, they would for private reasons be continually kept up, to the great hurt, if not utter ruin of the state. (L.) Montesquieu has a passage to this purport (Espr. des Loix xxix. 3.) *'La loi de Solon, qui déclaroit infâmes tous ceux qui, dans une sédition, ne prendroient aucun parti, a paru bien extraordinaire. Mais il faut faire attention aux circonstances, dans lesquelles la Grèce se trouvoit pour lors. Elle étoit partagée en de très-petits états; il étoit à craindre que, dans une république travaillé par des dissensions civiles, les gens les plus prudents ne se missent à couvert, et que par-là les choses ne fassent portées à l'extrême. Dans les séditions, qui arrivoient dans ces petits états, le gros de la cité entroit dans la querelle ou la faisoit.— Dans ce cas, il est naturel de rappeler les séditieux au gros des citoyens, non pas les gros de citoyens aux séditieux.—C'est ainsi, que la fermentation d'une liqueur peut être arrêtée par une seule goutte d'une autre.'**

sent it as very properly levelled against those who, conscious of their own disability, match with heiresses for the sake of their portions, and under colour of law do violence to nature. For, when they know that such heiresses may make choice of others to receive their favours, they will either decline those matches, or if they do so marry, they must endure the shame of their avarice and dishonesty. And the heiress is properly authorised to choose not at large, but only among her husband's relations, that the child which is born may at least belong to his kindred and family. Agreeable to this is the direction, that the bride and bridegroom should be shut up together, and eat of the same quince⁴⁴; and that the husband of an heiress should approach her at least three times in a month. For, though they may happen not to have children, yet it is a mark of honour and regard due from a man to the chastity of his wife: it removes many uneasinesses, and prevents differences from proceeding to an absolute breach.

In all other marriages, he ordered that no dowries should be given: the bride was to bring with her only three suits of clothes, and some household-stuff of small value⁴⁵. For he wished marriages to be made without mercenary or venal views, and would have that union cemented by the endearment of children, and every other instance of love and friendship. Nay, Dionysius himself, when his mother

⁴⁴ The eating of the quince, which was not peculiar to an heiress and her husband (for all new-married people ate it) implied, that their discourses ought to be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet. (L.) M. Dacier, however, assigns to this ceremony a different meaning. According to him, it implied that they should watch over each other's safety, as the quince (it was vulgarly thought) afforded an excellent antidote against poisons. It was a fruit in high esteem among the ancients on many accounts, as appears from Plin. H. N. xv. 11., xxiii. 6.*

⁴⁵ The bride brought with her an earthen pan, called *phrugeteon*, in which barley was parched; to signify that she undertook the business of the house, and would do her part toward providing for the family.

desired to be married to a young Syracusan, told her ;
 “ He had indeed by his tyranny violated the laws of
 “ his country, but he could not violate those of
 “ nature, by countenancing so disproportionate a
 “ match.” And, surely, such disorders should not
 be tolerated in any state ; nor those marriages over-
 looked where there is no equality of years, or induce-
 ment of love, or probability that the end of marriage
 will be answered. So that to an old man, who
 espouses a young woman, some prudent magistrate
 or lawgiver might express himself in the words ad-
 dressed to Philoctetes⁴⁶ ;

Poor soul ! how fit art thou to marry !

And if he found a young man in the house of a
 rich old woman, like a partridge, growing plump
 from his private services, he would remove him to
 some young virgin who wanted a husband. But
 enough of this.

That law of Solon is also justly commended,
 which forbids men to speak ill of the dead⁴⁷. For
 piety requires us to consider the deceased as sacred ;
 justice calls upon us to spare those, who are no
 longer in being ; and good policy, to prevent the
 perpetuating of hatred. He forbade his people also
 to revile the living in a temple, in a court of justice,
 in the great assembly of the people, or at the public
 games. He, who offended in this respect, was to
 pay three drachmas to the person injured, and two
 to the public. Never to restrain anger is, indeed, a

⁴⁶ Philoctetes, the friend and companion of Hercules, upon his
 death succeeded to his arrows, which had been dipped in the blood
 of the Hydra. One of them accidentally falling upon his foot, the
 wound was so offensive, that the Greeks were obliged on their way
 to Troy to leave him, in excessive agony, at Lemnos. As without
 those fatal arrows, however, that city could not be taken, a depu-
 tation was sent back to him ; and upon this circumstance Sopho-
 cles has founded a tragedy, which is still extant.*

⁴⁷ Even when injured by their children (Demosth. adv. Lept.),
 which was carrying the prohibition to it's utmost extent.*

proof of want of breeding, or of infirmity ; and always to guard against it is very difficult, and to some persons impossible. Now, what is enjoined by law should be practicable, if the legislator desires to punish a few to some good purpose, and not many to no purpose at all.

His law concerning wills has likewise it's merit. For, before his time, the Athenians were not allowed to dispose of their estates by will ; the houses and other substance of the deceased remaining among his relations. But he permitted any one, that had not children⁴⁸, to leave his possessions to whom he pleased ; thus preferring the tie of friendship to that of kindred, and choice to necessity, he gave every man the full and free disposal of his own. Yet he did not allow all kinds of legacies, but those only which were not extorted by phrensy (the consequence of disease, or of poison), by imprisonment, by violence, or by the persuasions of a wife. For he considered inducements, that operated against reason, as no better than force : to be deceived was, with him, the same thing as to be compelled ; and he looked upon pleasure to be as great a perverter as pain⁴⁹.

He regulated, moreover, the journeys of women,

⁴⁸ *Legitimate sons*, as Demosthenes states. And this M. Dacier properly blames as unjust toward daughters, and by tolerating the concentration of many distinct properties in one individual, prejudicial to the state. But the Athenian orators justify it, from it's tendency to promote kindness among relations ; and especially as (according to Petit, Leg. Att.) the succession to an inheritance involved adoption into the family of the testator. Plutarch, in his Lives of Agis and Cleomenes, relates that a similar law (without, however, the above exception) was enacted at Sparta, in consequence of a quarrel between one of the Ephori and his son ; and adds that, by it's pernicious effects upon the radical equality of that state, it completely sapped the surest foundation of their whole polity.*

⁴⁹ He likewise ordained, that adopted persons should make no will, but as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, they were at liberty to return into the family whence they had been adopted ; or, if they continued childless, the estates reverted to the relations of the adopters. (Demosth. in Lept.)

their mournings, and their sacrifices, and endeavoured to keep them free from all disorder and excess. They were not to go out of town with more than three habits: the provisions, which they carried with them, were not to exceed the value of an obolus: their basket was not to be above a cubit high; and they were not to travel in the night except in a carriage, with a torch before them⁵⁰. At funerals they were forbidden to tear themselves⁵¹, and no hired mourner was to utter lamentable notes, or to act any thing else which tended to excite sorrow. They were not permitted to sacrifice upon those occasions, or to bury more than three garments with the body, or to visit any tombs, except at the time of interment, beside those of their own family⁵². Most of these things are likewise forbidden by our laws, with the addition of this circumstance, that those who thus offend are fined by the censors of the women, as giving way to weak passions and childish sorrow.

As the city was filled with persons who assembled from all parts, on account of the great security in which the inhabitants of Attica lived, Solon observing farther that the country was poor and barren,

⁵⁰ To prevent their committing any crime, under the concealment of darkness.*

⁵¹ Demosthenes (in Timocr.) recites Solon's directions with regard to funerals as follows; 'Let the dead bodies be laid out in the house, accordingly as the deceased gave order, and the day following before sun-rise carried forth. While the body is on the way to the grave, let the men go before, and the women follow. It shall not be lawful for any woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the grave under threescore years of age, except such as are within the degree of cousins.' (L.) This regulation was most probably made, from what has been above stated, upon the suggestion of Epimenides; as he is there said to have given Solon 'considerable assistance.' It was afterward adopted by the compilers of the Twelve Tables for the use of Rome.*

⁵² It was considered as an act of piety, to pay frequent visits to the tombs of relations; but to visit those of strangers, subsequently to their interment, was supposed to involve the sacrilegious design of stealing their bones for superstitious purposes.*

and that merchants who traffic by sea seldom import their goods where they can receive nothing in exchange, turned the attention of the citizens to manufactures. For this purpose he made a law, that no son should be obliged to maintain a father, who had not taught him a trade⁵³. As for Lycurgus, whose city was clear of strangers, and whose country (according to Euripides) was sufficient for twice it's number of inhabitants; where there was moreover a multitude of Helots, not only to be kept constantly employed, but to be humbled and worn out by servitude; it was right for him to emancipate the citizens from laborious and mechanic arts, and to employ them in arms, as the only art fit for them to learn and to exercise. But Solon, rather adapting his laws to the state of his country than his country to his laws, and perceiving that the soil of Attica, which hardly rewarded the husbandman's labour, was far from being capable of maintaining a lazy multitude, ordered trades to be accounted honourable, and directed the council of the Areopagus to examine into every man's means of subsisting, and to chastise the idle.

That law, however, was more rigid, which (as Heraclides of Pontus informs us) excused bastards from relieving their fathers. Yet the man who disregards so honourable a state as that of marriage, does not take a woman for the sake of children, but merely to indulge his appetite. He has, therefore, his reward; and there remains no pretence for him

⁵³ He, who was thrice convicted of idleness, was to be declared 'infamous.' Draco had before, according to most writers, made a single conviction capital; but this punishment Solon rightly deemed excessive, and commuted it for a hundred drachmas. Herodotus vii., Diod. Sic. i., and Val. Max. ii. 6. agree, that a law of this kind prevailed in Egypt. It is probable therefore that Solon, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them. (L.) Diphilus (quoted by Athenæus, vi. 3.) says that a law nearly similar prevailed at Corinth, 'by which any one, who without visible resources lived in splendour, was consigned to the executioner, as necessarily indebted for the means of supporting his prodigality to secret guilt.'*

to upbraid those children, whose very birth he has made their reproach.

In truth, his laws concerning women in general appear very absurd. For he permitted any one to kill an adulterer taken in the fact⁵⁴; but, if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he was only to be fined a hundred drachmas; and, if he gained his purpose by persuasion, twenty: with the exception however of prostitutes, because they have their price. Neither would he allow a daughter or a sister to be sold, unless she were taken in an act of dishonour before marriage. Now to punish the same fault sometimes in a severe and rigorous manner, and sometimes lightly and as it were in sport with a trivial fine, is not agreeable to reason; unless perhaps the scarcity of money in Athens, at that time, made a pecuniary mulct a heavy one. And indeed, in the valuation of things for the sacrifice, a sheep and a medimnus of corn were reckoned each at a drachma only. To the victor in the Isthmian games, he appointed a reward of a hundred drachmas; and to the victor in the Olympic, five hundred⁵⁵. He, that caught a he-wolf, was to have five drachmas; he, who took a she-wolf, one: and the former sum (as Demetrius Phalereus asserts) was the value of an ox, the latter of a sheep. Though the prices, which he fixes in his sixteenth table for select victims, were probably much higher than the common, yet compared with the present, they are small. The Athenians of old were great enemies to wolves,

⁵⁴ No adulteress was to adorn herself, or to assist at the public sacrifices; and whenever she did, he gave liberty to any one to tear her clothes off her back, and beat her into the bargain, (L.)—only taking care not to kill her, or to put out her eyes. (Æsch. *adv. Timarch.*)*

⁵⁵ The age of heroism, when a branch of the palm or the olive was reckoned an ample reward for the most vigorous and successful exertions, was now gone.* Solon diminished however the rewards bestowed upon wrestlers, esteeming such gratuities useless, and even dangerous; as they tended to encourage idleness, by inducing men to waste that time in exercises, which ought to be employed in providing for their families. (L.)

because their country was better for pasture than for tillage: and some say their tribes had not their names from the sons of Ion⁵⁶, but from the different occupations which they followed; the soldiers being called *Hoplitæ*, the artificers *Ergades*, and of the other two, the husbandmen *Teleontes*, and the graziers *Ægicores*.

As Attica was not supplied with water from perennial rivers, lakes, or springs⁵⁷, but chiefly from wells dug for that purpose, he made a law that where there was a public well, all within the distance of a Hippicon or four furlongs should make use of it; but, where the distance was greater, they were to provide a well of their own. And if they dug ten fathoms deep in their own ground, and could find no water, they had liberty to fill a vessel of six gallons twice a day at their neighbours' well. Thus he thought it proper to assist persons in real necessity, but not to encourage idleness. His regulations, with respect to the planting of trees, were also very judicious. He, who planted any tree in his field, was to plant it at least five feet from his neighbour's ground; and, if it were a fig-tree or an olive, nine: for these extend their roots farther than others, and their neighbourhood is prejudicial to some trees, not only as they take away the nourishment, but as their effluvia is noxious. He, who wished to dig a pit or a ditch, was to dig it as far from another man's

⁵⁶ As Herodotus v. 66., and Euripides (*Ion* 1576.) affirm, and after them Pollux, and Steph. Byzant. *voc. Αἰγυγίων*. What, if this professional classification of the Athenians preceded the birth of Ion's children; and that prince, as a compliment to the tribes, bestowed their names upon his four sons?

M. Ricard has a long note from M. Larcher, the translator of Herodotus, upon the meaning of these names; particularly the third, which Herodotus and a marble of Cyzicum (a colony of Athenian extraction) write *Geleontes*.*

⁵⁷ Strabo informs us, there was a spring of fresh water near the Lyceum; and Plato mentions one extremely clear and cool, in a manner so striking as to be quoted by Cicero (*de Orat.* i. 7.): but the soil of Attica in general was dry, and the rivers Ilissus and Eridanus did not run constantly. (L.) Even the Cephissus, which had often the force of a torrent, was in the summer (according to Strabo) generally dry.*

ground, as it was deep: and, if any one would raise stocks of bees, he was to place them at the distance of three hundred feet from those already raised by another.

Of all the products of the earth, he allowed none to be sold to strangers, except oil: and whoever presumed to export any thing else, the Archon was solemnly to declare him accursed, or himself to pay a hundred drachmas into the public treasury. This law is in the first table. And therefore what some affirm is not absolutely improbable, that the exportation of figs was formerly forbidden, and that the informer against the delinquents was called 'a sycophant'⁵⁸.

He likewise enacted a law for the reparation of damages received from beasts. A dog, that had bitten a man, was to be delivered up bound to a log of four cubits long⁵⁹; an agreeable contrivance for security against such an animal.

But the wisdom of the law, concerning the naturalising of foreigners, is rather dubious; because it forbids the freedom of the city to be granted to any, but such as are for ever exiled from their own country, or transplant themselves to Athens with their whole family, for the sake of exercising some manual trade. This (we are told) he did, not with a view to exclude strangers, but rather to invite them to Athens, upon the sure hope of being admitted to the privilege of citizens: and those, he imagined, might be entirely depended upon in that respect⁶⁰,

⁵⁸ Literally 'an exhibiter of figs,' as thereby substantiating his specific charge. The name was afterward more extensively applied, and is now associated with the ideas of meanness, servility, and calumny.*

⁵⁹ This, and several other of Solon's laws, were adopted into the Twelve Tables of Rome. The Romans A. U. C. 300 sent deputies to Athens, to make selections and transcripts from the laws of Greece, in order to form thence a civil code for their own state.

⁶⁰ But surely in no other. For what dependence could be placed upon those, whom either their own country could not endure, or who could not endure their own country?*

who had either been driven from their native country by necessity, or quitted it through choice.

Peculiar to Solon, was the law which regulates the going to entertainments made at the public charge, by him called *parasitein*⁶¹. For he does not allow the same person to go thither frequently, and he imposes a penalty upon such as refuse to go in their turns; regarding the former as a mark of epicurism, and the latter of contempt of the public.

The whole of his laws were to continue in force for a hundred years, and were written upon wooden tables, which might be turned round in the oblong cases that contained them. Some small remains of them are preserved in the Prytaneum to this day. They were called *cyrbes*, as Aristotle informs us; and Cratinus, the comic poet⁶², thus speaks of them:

By Solon's, and by Draco's honour'd name,
Whose *cyrbes* now but parch our pulse.—

Some say, those tables were properly called *cyrbes*, on which were written the rules for religious rites and sacrifices, and the others *axones*. The senate, in a body, bound themselves by oath to establish the laws of Solon; and the *Thesmothetæ*, or 'guardians of the laws,' severally took an oath in a particular form, by the stone in the market-place, that for

⁶¹ In the early ages, the name of 'parasite' (according to Athenæus, vi. 6.) was venerable, for it properly signified a messmate at the table of sacrifices. There was in Greece a college of persons particularly honoured with this title, whose business was to select the grain, &c. necessary for the public offerings, much like those whom the Romans called *Epulones*, a religious order instituted by Numa. Solon ordained that every tribe should offer a sacrifice once a month, and at the end of the sacrifice make a public entertainment, at which all the members of that tribe should be obliged to assist by turns, (L.) or denounced and compelled to assign reasons for their absence.*

⁶² Contemporary with Pericles, and about 150 years posterior to Solon, whose laws (it would seem from the subjoined quotation) had fallen, in the course of a century and a half, into complete neglect.*

every law which they broke, they would each dedicate a golden statue at Delphi of the same weight with himself⁶³.

Observing the irregularity of the months⁶⁴, and that the moon neither rose nor set at the same time with the sun, as it often happened that in the same day she overtook and passed by him, he ordered that day to be called *hene kai nea* (the old, and the new); thinking, that the part of it which elapsed before the conjunction belonged to the old month, and the rest to the new. He seems therefore to have been the first who understood the verse in Homer, mentioning a day, in which

The old month ended, and the new began⁶⁵.

The day following he called 'the new moon.'

⁶³ Gold at this time was so scarce in Greece, that when the Spartans were ordered by the oracle to gild the face of Apollo's statue, they inquired in vain for gold all over the country, and were directed by the Pythoness to purchase some from Cræsus king of Lydia.

⁶⁴ Solon discovered the inaccuracy of Thales' theorem, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, and found that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. He directed, therefore, that each of the twelve months should be accounted twenty-nine and thirty days alternately. Thus a lunar year was formed of three hundred and fifty-four days; and to reconcile it to the solar one, he ordered a month of twenty-two and of twenty-three days alternately to be intercalated every two years. (See the Life of Numa, p. 198., not. 73.) He likewise engaged the Athenians to divide their months into three parts, stiled the beginning, middle, and ending; each of these consisted of ten days, when the month was thirty, and the last of nine, when it was twenty-nine days long. In speaking of the two first parts, they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, viz. 'the first, &c. day of the moon beginning;' 'the first, second, &c. of the moon middle;' but with respect to the last part of the month, they reckoned backward; that is, instead of saying 'the first, second, &c. day of the moon ending,' they said the tenth, ninth, &c. of the moon ending.' This is a circumstance, which should be carefully attended to.

⁶⁵ *Odys.* xiv. 162. This day of the new moon, or rather when the moon was first seen by some one stationed for the purpose, was of great importance to the Greeks, in regulating their public assemblies, sacrifices, festivals, &c.*

After the twentieth he counted not by adding to, but by subtracting from the thirtieth, according to the decreasing phases of the moon.

When his laws took place⁶⁶, Solon had his visitors every day, finding fault with some of them and commending others, or advising him to make certain additions or retrenchments. But the greater part came to desire a reason for this or that article,

⁶⁶ Plutarch has only mentioned such of Solon's laws, as he thought the most singular and remarkable; Diogenes Laërtius and Demosthenes have given us an account of some others, which ought not to be forgotten. 1. 'Let him, who refuses to maintain his father and mother, be pronounced infamous (a):' 2. 'So let him be, that has consumed his patrimony.' 3. 'Let him, who frequents the houses of lewd women, be debarred from speaking in the assemblies of the people.' 4. 'Let not the guardian live in the same house with (or, as some interpret the passage, cohabit with, or marry) the mother of his wards.' 5. 'Let not the tuition of minors be committed to him, who is next after them in the inheritance (b):' 6. 'Let not an engraver keep the impression of a seal, which he has engraved.' 7. 'Let him, that puts out the eye of a man who has but one, lose both his own.' 8. 'If an Archon is taken in liquor (c), let him be put to death.' The rest occur in Demosthenes. 'Let him, who refuses to go to war, flies, or behaves cowardly, be debarred the precincts of the Forum and places of public worship.' 'If a man surprises his wife in adultery, and lives with her afterward, let him be deemed infamous.' 'Let a pandar be pursued, and put to death if taken.' 'If any man steal in the day-time, let him be carried to the eleven officers; if in the night, it shall be lawful to kill him in the act, or to wound him in the pursuit, and carry him to the aforesaid officers: if he steal common things, let him pay double, and (if the convicter thinks fit) be exposed in chains five days; if he be guilty of sacrilege, let him be put to death.'

(a) This (according to Æschines adv. Timarch.) extended to such as struck their parents, or refused them lodging; unless, as has been above stated, they had not been instructed by them in any trade.*

(b) Both this and the preceding law were doubtless enacted for the safety of orphans, by withdrawing them from the power of persons interested in their death: but the Romans adopted a directly contrary principle, in order to preserve their property from dilapidation!*

(c) Pittacus, tyrant of Mitylene, one of the Seven Wise Men, inflicted double punishment upon crimes committed in a state of drunkenness.*

or a clear and precise explication of the meaning and design. Sensible that it might appear inexcusable to reject, and invidious to comply with their desires, he determined to withdraw from the difficulty, and to get rid at once of their cavils and exceptions. For, as he himself observes,

None to offend in arduous toils is hard.

Under pretence therefore of traffic, he set sail for another country, having obtained leave of absence from the Athenians for ten years. In that time, he trusted, they would become familiarised with his laws.

His first voyage was to Egypt⁶⁷, where he abode some time, as he himself relates,

By Nile's deep mouth, on the Canopian shore.

There he conversed on points of philosophy with Psenophis the Heliopolitan, and Sonchis the Saïte, the most learned of the Egyptian priests; and receiving from them an account of the Atlantic Isle⁶⁸,

⁶⁷ That he went thither about this time, and not (as Diog. Laërt. states, i. 150.) to escape existing, or (as A. Gell. xvii. 21., affirms) impending tyranny, is probable, as well from the concurrent testimony of Ælian (Var. Hist. viii. 16.) and many other historians, as from the age of Solon himself; which, at the epoch of Pisistratus' usurpation, would be much less equal to such a voyage. To justify however the opinion, that many of his laws are of Egyptian origin, we must suppose that in his youth, when (to use Plutarch's phrase) he 'travelled to gratify his curiosity and extend his knowledge,' he had previously visited that country. Canopus was a city, situated upon one of the mouths of the Nile, *hod.* Maadie. Heliopolis and Saïs likewise, now known by the name of Matarea and Sa respectively, were places of great extent and antiquity.*

⁶⁸ Plato, as may be seen in his *Timæus* and *Critias*, finished this history from Solon's memoirs. The Atlantis (so called, as situated in the Atlantic ocean) was larger, he pretends, than Asia and Africa, and notwithstanding it's vast extent, was drowned in a single day and night. Diodorus Siculus informs us that the Carthaginians, who discovered it, made it death for any one to settle in it. Amidst a number of conjectures concerning it, one of the most probable is, that in those days the Africans had some knowledge of

as Plato informs us, he attempted to describe it to the Grecians in a poem. From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, and was there honoured with the best regards of Philocyprus, one of the kings of that island, who reigned over a small city built by Demophon the son of Theseus near the river Clarius, in a strong situation indeed, but a very indifferent soil. As there was an agreeable plain below, Solon persuaded him to raise there a larger and more pleasant city, and to transfer thither the inhabitants of the other. He also assisted in laying out the whole, and building it in the best mode for convenience and defence; so that Philocyprus shortly had it peopled in such a manner, as to excite the envy of the other princes. And therefore, though the former city was called Aipia, yet in honour of Solon he called the new one Soli. He himself, in his Elegies, speaks of the building of this city, addressing himself to Philocyprus:

For you be long the Solian throne decreed!
For you, a race of prosperous sons succeed!
If in those scenes, to her so justly dear,
My hand a blooming city help'd to rear,
May the sweet voice of smiling Venus bless,
And speed me home with honours and success!

As to his interview with Cræsus, some pretend to prove from chronology⁶⁹ that it is fictitious. But

America. Another opinion worth mentioning is, that the Atlantes, or 'Fortunate Islands,' were what we now call the Canaries. These Homer thus describes:

Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime:
The fields are florid with unfading prime.
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow;
But from the breezy deep the blest inhale
The fragrant murmurs of the western gale. (Pope.) (L.)

Of the moderns, Bæhr has written an Essay upon this isle; and M. d'Anville in his *Anc. Geogr.*, Olaus Rudbeck in his *Atlantis*, and M. Bailly in his *Anc. Astron.* and his *Letters on the Ancients*, may be consulted by the curious.*

⁶⁹ The controversy upon this subject between the French literati,

since the story is so celebrated, and so well attested, nay (what is more) so agreeable to Solon's character, so worthy of his wisdom and magnanimity, I cannot prevail upon myself to reject it for the sake of certain chronological tables, which thousands are correcting to this day, without being able to bring them to any certainty. Solon, then, is said to have visited Sardis at the request of Cræsus; and when he came thither, to have been affected much in the same manner as a person born in an inland country, when he first goes to see the ocean: for, as he takes every great river he perceives for the sea, so Solon, when he passed through the court, and saw many of the nobility richly dressed and walking in great pomp amidst a crowd of attendants and guards, took each of them for Cræsus. At last, when he was conducted into the presence, he found the king set off with whatever can be imagined curious and valuable, either in beauty of colours, elegance of golden ornaments, or splendour of jewels; in order that the grandeur and variety of the scene might be as striking as possible. Solon, standing over-against the throne, was not at all surprised, neither did he pay those compliments which were expected; on the contrary, it was obvious to all persons of discernment, that he despised such vain ostentation and littleness of pride. Cræsus then ordered his treasures to be opened, and his magnificent apartments and furniture to be shown him; but this was quite a superfluous trouble: for Solon, upon the first view of the king, was able to read his character. When he had seen all, and was conducted back, Cræsus asked him, "If he had ever beheld a happier man than himself?" Solon answered, "He had; and that was one Tellus, a plain but worthy citizen of Athens, who left valuable children behind him; and who, having been above the want of neces-

MM. Freret and Larcher, with M. Ricard's reasons for adopting the conclusions of the latter (which coincide with those of Plutarch, here stated) would be tedious to the English reader.*

“ saries during his whole life, died gloriously fighting for his country⁷⁰.” By this time he appeared to Cræsus a strange uncouth kind of rustic, who did not measure happiness by gold and silver, but could prefer the life and death of a private and obscure person to so much dignity and power. He asked him, however, again; “ Whether, after Tellus, “ he knew any other happier man?” To which Solon replied, “ Yes, Cleobis and Biton, famed “ for their brotherly affection, and their dutiful “ behaviour to their mother; for the oxen not “ being ready, they put themselves in the harness, “ and drew their mother, happy in having such sons “ and hailed by the acclamations of the people, to “ Juno’s temple. After the sacrifice they drank a “ cheerful cup with their friends, and then laid down “ to rest, but rose no more; having expired in the “ night without sorrow or pain, in the midst of all “ their glory.” “ Well!” said Cræsus, now highly displeased, “ and do you not then rank us in the “ number of happy men?” Solon, unwilling either to flatter him or to exasperate him farther, replied; “ King of Lydia, as God has given the Greeks a “ moderate proportion of other things, so likewise “ has he favoured them with a democratic spirit and “ a liberal wisdom, which has no taste for the splendours of royalty. The vicissitudes of life likewise “ prevent our being elated by any present good fortune, or admiring that felicity, which is liable to “ change. Futurity carries for every man many various and uncertain events in it’s bosom. He “ therefore, whom heaven blesses with success to the “ last, is in our estimation the happy man*. But

⁷⁰ Herodotus (i. 30.) relates the same story, but somewhat more in detail; and likewise (ib. 31.) that which follows, of the two sons of Juno’s priestess, who received death as the reward of their piety, in consequence of their mother’s having prayed that they might obtain the greatest of earthly blessings.*

* The lines of Ovid have become almost proverbial:

————— *Ultima semper
Expectanda dies homini, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.* (Met.iii.137.)*

“ the happiness of him, who still lives and has the dangers of life to encounter, appears to us no better than that of a champion before the combat is determined, and while the crown is yet uncertain.” With these words Solon departed, leaving Cræsus chagrined, but not instructed.

At that time *Æsop*, the fabulist, was at the court of Cræsus, who had sent for him and caressed him exceedingly. He was concerned at the unkind reception, which Solon met with, and gave him this advice ; “ A man should resolve either not to converse with kings at all, or to converse with them agreeably :” To which Solon replied, “ Nay, he should either not converse with them at all, or converse with them usefully.”

Though Cræsus at that time held our lawgiver in contempt, yet after his defeat in battle by Cyrus, when his city was taken, and himself made prisoner, and laid bound upon the pile in order to be burned, in the presence of Cyrus and all the Persians he cried out as loud as he could : “ O Solon ! Solon ! Solon !” Cyrus, surprised at this, sent to inquire of him, “ What god or man it was, whom he thus exclusively invoked under so great a calamity ?” To this Cræsus, without the least disguise, replied ; “ He is one of the wise men of Greece, whom I invited, not with a design to hear his wisdom, or to learn what might be of service to me ; but that he might see and extend the reputation of that glory, the loss of which I find to be a far greater misfortune, than the possession of it was a blessing. My exalted state was only an exterior advantage, the happiness of opinion ; but the reverse plunges me into real sufferings, and ends in misery irremediable. This was foreseen by that great man ; who, from what he then saw forming a conjecture of the future, advised me to consider the end of life, and not to rely or grow insolent upon uncertainties.” When this was told to Cyrus, who was a much wiser man than Cræsus, he finding Solon’s maxim confirmed by an

example before him, not only set Cræsus at liberty, but honoured him with his protection as long as he lived. Thus Solon had the glory of saving the life of one of those kings, and of instructing the other.

During his absence, the Athenians were much divided among themselves; Lycurgus being at the head of the inhabitants of the plains⁷¹, Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, of those that lived near the sea-coast, and Pisistratus of the mountaineers: among these last was a multitude of labouring people, whose enmity was chiefly levelled at the rich. Hence it was, that though the city observed Solon's laws, yet all expected some change, and were desirous of a fresh establishment; not in hopes of an equality, but with a view to be gainers by the alteration, and entirely to subdue their opponents.

While matters stood thus, Solon arrived at Athens, where he was received with the utmost respect, and still held in veneration by all: but, on account of his great age, he had neither the strength nor spirit to act or speak in public, as he had formerly done. He applied therefore in private to the heads of the factions, and endeavoured to appease and reconcile them. Pisistratus seemed to pay him more attention than the rest; for he had an affable and engaging manner⁷², was a liberal benefactor to the poor⁷³,

⁷¹ These three parties, into which the Athenians were divided; viz. the Pedieæ, the Paralî, and the Diacrii, have been mentioned above.

⁷² I will transcribe his character from M. Barthelemi. '*Jamais homme ne réunit plus des qualités (que Pisistrate) pour captiver les esprits. Une naissance illustre, des richesses considerables, une valeur brillante et souvent éprouvée, une figure imposante, une éloquence persuasive, à laquelle le son de sa voix prêtoit des nouveaux charmes; un esprit enrichi des agrémens que la nature donne, et des connoissances que procure l'étude. Jamais homme, d'ailleurs, ne fut plus maître de ses passions, et ne sut mieux faire valoir les vertus qu'il possédoit en effet, et celles dont il n'avoit que les apparences. Ses succès ont prouvé que, dans les projets d'une exécution lente, rien ne donne plus de supériorité que la douceur et la flexibilité du caractère.*' (Tom. i.)*

⁷³ By 'the poor' we are not to understand such as asked alms, for of such there were none to be found at Athens. 'In those days,'

and even toward his enemies conducted himself with great candour and moderation. He counterfeited indeed so dexterously the good qualities, which nature had denied him, that he gained more credit than the real possessors of them; and stood foremost in the public esteem in point of gentleness, fairness, and equity, zeal for the present government, and aversion from all who were desirous of a change. With these arts, he imposed upon the people: but Solon soon discovered his real character, and was the first to detect his insidious designs. Yet he did not absolutely break with him, but endeavoured to soften him and advise him better; declaring both to him and to others, that if ambition could but be banished from his soul, and he could be cured of his lust for absolute power, there would not be a better disposed or a worthier citizen in Athens.

About this time Thespis began to change the form of tragedy⁷⁴, and the novelty of the thing attracted

says Isocrates, 'there was no citizen who died of want, or begged in the streets, to the dishonour of the community.' This was owing to the laws against idleness and prodigality, and the care which the Areopagus took, that every man should have a visible livelihood; a measure recommended by the illustrious More in the first book of his Utopia, as a merciful and effectual substitute for the excessive severities of our laws against theft. *Decernuntur enim furanti gravia atque horrenda supplicia, cum potius multo fuerit providendum ut aliquis esset proventus vitæ, ne cuiquam tam dira sit furendi primum, dehinc pereundi necessitas.* But on the lamentable and unnecessary frequency of our capital punishments, see the second volume of Character of C. J. Fox, by Philopatris Varvicensis, pp. 321—526., and Montagu's Opinions of different Authors upon the Punishment of Death, in 2 vols. 8vo. drawn up by the desire of a society lately instituted under the auspices of the truly patriotic Sir Samuel Romilly. See, also, not. (35.)*

⁷⁴ Tragedy had previously been only a chorus, chanting hymns in honour of Bacchus, at the conclusion of the vintage-fêtes. Thespis was the first to break the monotony of this simple exhibition, by the introduction of an additional personage, who recited some story to the audience. The subsequent statement of Plutarch, with respect to the establishment of prizes, must be received with some modification, as referring to contests of increased celebrity (the Tetralogies, &c.): since from the Oxford Marbles in particular, as well as his own remark in another part of his works, it appears that

many spectators ; for this was before any prize was proposed for those, who excelled in this respect. Solon, who was always willing to hear and to learn, and in his old age still more inclined to any thing that might divert and entertain, particularly to music and good fellowship, went to see Thespis himself exhibit according to the custom of the ancient poets. At the end of the play, he called to him, and asked him, “ If he was not ashamed to tell so many lies before so numerous an assembly ? ” Thespis answered, “ It was no great matter ; they speak, or act, in jest.” To which Solon replied, striking the ground violently with his staff, “ If we encourage such jesting as this, we shall quickly trace it in our contracts and agreements.”

Soon after this, Pisistratus having wounded himself⁷⁵ for the purpose, drove in that condition into the market-place, and endeavoured to inflame the minds of the people, by telling them that his enemies had laid in wait for him, and had treated him in that manner, on account of his patriotism. Upon this, the multitude loudly expressed their indignation : but Solon came up, and thus accosted him ; “ Son of Hippocrates, you act Homer’s Ulysses but very indifferently : for he wounded himself to deceive his enemies, whereas you have done it to deceive your countrymen.” Notwithstanding this, the rabble were eager to take up arms in his favour : and, a general assembly of the people being summoned, Ariston made a motion that a body-guard of fifty clubmen should be assigned for his defence. Solon stood up, and opposed it with many arguments, of the same kind with those which he has left us in his poems :

prizes of poesy and contests of poets formed a very ancient portion of the sacred games of Greece.*

⁷⁵ Herodotus adds (i. 59.) that he wounded also his carriages, and in an animated harangue to the people reminded them of his achievements in their service against the Megarensians, &c. This event took place Ol. lv. 1., A. C. 560.*

You hang with rapture on his honey'd tongue.

And again,

Still in yourself, to public interest blind,
Your fox-like art concentrated we find.

But when he saw the poor behaving in a riotous manner, and determined to gratify Pisistratus at any rate, while the rich out of fear declined the opposition, he retired with the declaration that, "He had shown more wisdom than the former, in discerning what method should be taken; and more courage than the latter, who did not want understanding, but spirit, to resist the establishment of a tyrant."

The people, having made the decree, did not anxiously inquire into the number of guards whom Pisistratus employed, but visibly connived at his keeping as many as he pleased, till he seized the citadel. When this was done, and the city was thrown into great confusion, Megacles with the rest of the Alcæonidæ immediately took to flight. But Solon, though he was now very old and had none to second him, appeared in public, and addressed himself to the citizens; sometimes upbraiding them with their past indiscretion and cowardice, and sometimes exhorting and encouraging them to stand up for their liberty. Then it was, that he spoke those memorable words; "It would previously have been easier for them to repress the advances of tyranny, and prevent it's establishment: but now, that it was established, and grown to some height, it would be more glorious to effect it's demolition." Finding however that their fears prevented their attending to what he said, he returned to his own house, and placed his weapons at the street-door with these words, "I have done all in my power to defend my country and it's laws." This was his last public effort. Though some exhorted him to fly, he took no notice of their advice, but was composed enough to make verses, in which he thus reproaches the Athenians:

If fear or folly has your rights betray'd,
Let not the fault on righteous heaven be laid.
You gave them guards; you raised your tyrants high,
To fix the heavy yoke that draws the sigh.

Many of his friends, alarmed at this, told him the tyrant would certainly put him to death for it, and asked him; "Upon what he relied, that he went such imprudent lengths?" He answered, "Upon old age." When Pisistratus however had fully established himself, he made his court to Solon, and treated him with so much kindness and respect, that Solon became as it were his counsellor, and gave sanction to many of his proceedings. He observed the greatest part of Solon's laws, himself showing the example, and obliging his friends to follow it. Thus, when he was accused of murder before the court of Areopagus, he appeared in a modest manner to make his defence; but his accuser dropped the impeachment. He likewise added other laws, one of which was, that persons maimed in the wars should be maintained at the public charge. Yet this, Heraclides informs us, was in pursuance of Solon's plan, who had decreed the same in the case of Thersippus. But according to Theophrastus Pisistratus, not Solon, made the law against idleness, which produced at once an increase of industry in the country, and of tranquillity in the city.

Solon, moreover, attempted in verse a large description or rather fabulous account of the Atlantic Isle⁷⁶, which he had learned of the wise men of Saïs, and which particularly concerned the Athenians; but by reason of his age, and not from his want of leisure (as Plato would have it), he was apprehensive the work would be too much for him, and therefore he did not complete it. That business

⁷⁶ This fable imported, that the people of Atlantis having subdued all Lybia, and a considerable part of Europe, threatened Egypt and Greece; but the Athenians, making head against their victorious army, overthrew them in several engagements, and confined them to their own island.

was not the hindrance, these verses will sufficiently prove :

I grow in learning, as I grow in years,

And again :

Wine, wit, and beauty still their charms bestow,
Light life's dull shades, and cheer us as we go.

Plato, ambitious to cultivate and adorn the subject of the Atlantic Isle, as an unoccupied spot in some delightful field (to which also he had some claim, by his being related to Solon⁷⁷) laid out magnificent courts and enclosures, and erected a grand entrance to it, such as no other story, fable, or poem ever possessed. But, as he began it late, he ended his life before the work ; so that, the more the reader is delighted with the part actually written, the more regret he feels to find it unfinished. As the temple of Jupiter Olympius⁷⁸ in Athens is the only one that has not the last hand put to it, so the wisdom of Plato, among his many excellent works, has left nothing imperfect except the Atlantic Isle.

Heraclides Ponticus relates, that Solon lived a considerable time after Pisistratus had usurped the government ; but, according to Phantias the Ephesian⁷⁹,

⁷⁷ Plato's mother was a descendent of Solon's brother.

⁷⁸ Under this title there were several erected to that deity at Athens—by Deucalion (Pausan. i. 18.), the Pisistratidæ (Aristot. Pol. v. 11.), and Perseus, king of Macedon ; which last, according to Livy (xli. 20.) was the only one by it's grandeur and magnificence worthy of the god. Suetonius also (Aug. lx.) mentions one erected there by the joint contributions of several kings, and dedicated to the Genius of Augustus Cæsar. Of these it is most probable, from Aristotle's account, that Plutarch here means the second. The whole paragraph involves a high, but deserved compliment, not only to the Critias of Plato, but to the rest of his works, as virtually placed in parallel with the other sacred structures of Athens ; which, by their splendour, obtained for that city the honourable appellation of ' The Residence of the Gods.' *

⁷⁹ This is obviously an error (a very natural one, the Greek critics would tell us, arising from the easy confusion of the two similar

he survived that event at the utmost not quite two years. For Pisistratus began his tyranny in the Archonship of Comias, and (as Phanias states) Solon died in the Archonship of Hegestratus, the immediate successor to Comias. The story of his ashes⁸⁰ being scattered about the isle of Salamis appears absurd and fabulous; and yet it is related by several authors of credit, and in particular by the philosopher Aristotle.

letters Φ and Ρ) as the ancients only mention one Phanias, of Eresa or Eressa, a city of Lesbos.*

⁸⁰ This, we are told by Diogenes Laërtius (who says, that he died in the isle of Cyprus, l. 621.), was done after his own direction. In thus disposing of his remains either Solon himself, or his biographers, imitated the story of Lycurgus, who left an express order, that his ashes should be thrown into the sea.

THE
LIFE
OF
PUBLICOLA.

SUMMARY.

Extraction of Valerius Publicola. Tarquin driven from Rome. The election of two Consuls. Publicola's animosity against the Tarquins. Tarquin's effort to remount the throne. Conspiracy at Rome in his favour; detected. Brutus consigns his own sons to the executioner. Collatinus abdicates the consulship; and is succeeded by Publicola. Campus Martius; Sacred Isle. Bloody battle between the Romans and Tuscans; and Publicola's triumph. Funeral oration over Brutus. Publicola's generous conduct; his moderation, and popular laws—against tyranny, on finance, &c. The election of two Quæstors. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus built by Tarquinius Superbus: and dedicated. Frequently burned, and rebuilt. It's magnificence. Porsena assists Tarquin in his endeavours to regain his authority: Publicola a second time consul. Horatius Cocles singly opposes the enemy. Publicola's third consulship: Exploit of Mutius Scævola. Porsena, by the intervention of Publicola, concludes a peace with Rome. Enterprize of Clælia; and the honour, which she receives from Porsena. Victory of Valerius, Publicola's brother, over the Sabines. Publicola a fourth time consul. Roman terrors. Appius Clausus quits his residence among the Sabines, and settles at Rome. Defeat of the Sabines. Publicola's triumph, death, and funeral.

SUCH is the character of Solon; and therefore with him we will compare Publicola, so surnamed afterward¹ by the Roman people in acknowledgment of his merit; for his paternal name was Valerius², the principal author of the union between the Romans and the Sabines. For he it was, who most effectually persuaded the two kings to come to a conference, and to settle their differences. From this man Valerius deriving his extraction, distinguished himself by his eloquence and riches, even while Rome was yet under kingly government³. His eloquence he employed with great propriety and spirit in the defence of justice, and his riches in relieving the necessitous. Hence it was obvious to conclude that, if the government should become republican⁴, his station in it would soon be one of the most eminent.

When Tarquin the Proud, who had made his way to the throne by the violation of all rights⁵ divine and human, and exercised his power not like a king but like an oppressor and a tyrant, became odious and insupportable to the people; by the unhappy fate of Lucretia, who killed herself on account of the

¹ At the end of his first consulship, when he had rased his house, and humbled the fasces before the majesty of the people!*

² The first of his family, who settled at Rome, was (according to Livy) Valerius Volesus, or as Festus and the *Fasti Capitolini* call him, Velus a Sabine. (L.) He was one of the three principal nobles, who followed Tatius to Rome. (Dion Halic. ii. 10.)*

³ Plutarch by this would insinuate, that arbitrary power is no friend to eloquence. And undoubtedly the want of liberty does generally depress the spirit, and restrain the force of genius: whereas in republics and limited monarchies ample scope is given; as well as frequent occasions afforded, to the richest vein of oratory. See Longin. Περὶ Ὑψ. sect. last.

⁴ Governments, as well as other things, pushed to excessive lengths, often change to the contrary extreme.

⁵ Among other abuses, he had trampled upon the body of his murdered father-in-law, Servius Tullius, in his way to the throne. See Dion. Halic. iv. 10., Liv. i. 48., &c.*

rape committed upon her by the son of Tarquin⁶, they were first roused to revolt. Lucius Brutus, meditating a change of government, applied first to Valerius, and with his powerful assistance expelled the monarch and his family. While the people indeed seemed inclined to give to one person the chief command, and to set up a general instead of a king, Valerius acquiesced, and willingly yielded the first place to Brutus, under whose auspices the republic had commenced. When it appeared however that they could not bear the thought of being governed by a single person, but seemed more ready to obey a divided authority, and indeed proposed and demanded to have two consuls at the head of the state, he then offered himself as a candidate for that high office along with Brutus, but lost his election. For contrary to Brutus' desire Tarquinius Collatinus⁷,

⁶ Livy (i. 58.) tells us, that she desired her father and husband to meet her at her own house. With her father Lucretius, came Publius Valerius (afterward Publicola), and with her husband, Lucius Junius Brutus and many other Romans of distinction. To them she disclosed in few words the whole matter, declared her firm resolution not to outlive the loss of her honour, and conjured them not to let the crime of her ravisher go unpunished. After which, notwithstanding their endeavours to dissuade her from it, she plunged a dagger in her breast. While the rest were filled with grief and consternation, Brutus, who till that time had feigned himself an idiot to prevent his being obnoxious to the tyrant, seized the bloody poniard; and holding it up to the assembly, exclaimed; "I swear by this blood which once was so pure, and which nothing but the detestable villainy of Tarquin could have polluted, that I will pursue Tarquin the Proud, his wicked wife and their children, with fire and sword: nor will I ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at Rome. Ye gods! I call you to witness this my oath." At these words, he presented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company; and engaged them to bind themselves by the same engagement. (L.) Dion. Halic. (iv. 15.) says, that Brutus emphatically harangued the people at large: that the conspirators elected him and Collatinus consuls: and that Tarquin, having had information of the revolt, hurried to Rome; but finding it's gates shut against him, and being refused admittance into the camp on his return, took refuge at Gabii.*

⁷ So called from his government of Collatia, a city which had

the husband of Lucretia, was appointed his colleague. Not that he was abler, or more worthy than Valerius; but those that had the chief interest in the state, apprehensive of the return of the Tarquins, who were making great efforts without, and endeavouring to soften the resentment of the citizens within, were desirous to place at their head the most implacable enemy of that house.

Valerius, taking it ill that it should be supposed he would not do his utmost for his country, because he had received no particular injury from the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, forbore to attend the Forum, and would not intermeddle in the least with public affairs. So that many began to express their fear and concern, lest through resentment he should join the late royal family, and overturn the commonwealth, which as yet was but tottering. Brutus was not without his suspicions of some others, and therefore determined to bring the senators to their oath on a solemn day of sacrifice, which he appointed for that purpose. Upon this occasion Valerius went with the utmost alacrity to the Forum, and was the first to make oath that he would never give up the least point, or listen to any terms of agreement with Tarquin, but would defend the Roman liberty with his sword; which afforded great satisfaction to the senate, and strengthened the hands of the consuls^a.

been taken from the Sabines by the elder Tarquin. His father Egerius, and Tarquin the Proud, were first cousins.*

^a Thus ended the regal state of Rome, according to the common computation, A. U. C. 244. But Sir Isaac Newton justly observes, that this can scarcely be reconciled to the course of nature; for we meet with no instance in all history, since chronology was certain, of seven kings (most of whom were slain) reigning so many years in continual succession. By contracting therefore the reigns of these kings, and those of the kings of Alba, he dismisses 126 years from the number ordinarily assigned as the interval between Romulus and Christ, and places the building of Rome, not in the sixth but in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, and B. C. 627. (L.)

Dr. Musgrave however has very ably opposed our great philosopher's arguments, in a Treatise expressly composed on that subject; which receives no vulgar praise, when the editor states that he has heard it quoted and commended by Richard Porson.*

His actions soon confirmed the sincerity of his oath. For ambassadors came from Tarquin with letters calculated to gain the people, and instructions to treat with them in a manner most likely to corrupt them: being directed to assure them on his part, that he had bidden adieu to his high notions, and was willing to listen to very moderate conditions. The consuls were of opinion, that they should be admitted to confer with the people; but Valerius strongly opposed this measure, insisting that no pretext for innovation should be given to the needy multitude, who might consider war as a greater grievance than tyranny itself.

After this other ambassadors arrived from the expelled prince, to declare that he would renounce all thoughts of the kingdom, and lay down his arms, if they would but send him his treasures and other effects, that his family and friends might not want a subsistence in their exile. In this, many persons inclined to indulge him, and Collatinus in particular agreed to it; but Brutus⁹, a man of high spirit and quick resentment, ran to the Forum, and called his colleague traitor, for being disposed to grant the enemy the means of carrying on the war and recovering the crown, when indeed it would be too much to allow them even bread in their exile. The citizens being assembled upon that occasion, Caius Minutius, a private man, was the first who delivered his sentiments to them; advising Brutus, and exhorting the Romans, to take care that the treasures should fight for them against the tyrants, rather than for the tyrants against them. The Romans however

⁹ Dion. Halic., on the contrary, says that the affair was debated in the senate with great moderation; and when it could not be settled there, whether they should prefer honour or profit, it was referred to the people, who to their immortal praise carried it for honour by a majority of one vote. (L.)

The same historian (v. 1.) states that this was not a second embassy, but a second demand (made for the purpose of gaining time) by the first. A slight correction of Livy's text (ii. 3.) suggested by the critics, leads to the same conclusion.*

were of opinion that, so long as they obtained that liberty for which they began the war, they should not reject the offered peace for the sake of the treasures, but cast them out along with the tyrants.

In the mean time, Tarquin made small account of his effects; but the demand of them furnished a pretence for sounding the people, and for preparing a scene of treachery. This was carried on by the ambassadors under pretence of taking care of the effects, part of which they said they were to sell, part to collect, and the rest to send away. Thus they gained time to corrupt two of the best families in Rome, that of the Aquilii, in which were three senators, and the Vitellii, among whom were two. All these were nephews by the mother's side, to Collatinus the consul. The Vitellii were likewise allied to Brutus; for their sister was his wife, and he had several children by her¹⁰; two of whom, just arrived at years of maturity and being of their kindred and acquaintance, the Vitellii drew in, and persuaded to engage in the conspiracy: insinuating, that by these means they might marry into the family of the Tarquins, share in their royal prospects, and at the same time be emancipated from the yoke of a stupid and cruel father. For his inflexibility in punishing criminals, they called 'cruelty;' and the stupidity, which he had long used as a cloke to shelter him from the bloody designs of the tyrants, had procured him the surname of 'Brutus', by which he objected not afterward to be distinguished.

The youths, thus engaged, were brought to confer with the Aquilii; and all agreed to take a great and

¹⁰ Dionysius and Livy only mention two; but Plutarch agrees with those who say that Brutus had more, and that Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, was descended from one of them. Cicero is of the latter class; or else he pretended to be so, to make the cause and person of Brutus more popular. (L.) There is, however, much confusion in these ancient genealogies.*

¹¹ Tarquin had put the father and brother of Brutus to death, on account of their wealth.

horrible oath, by drinking together of the blood¹², and tasting¹³ the entrails of a man sacrificed for that purpose. This ceremony was performed in the house of the Aquilii; and the room chosen for it was, most appropriately, dark and retired. But a slave, named Vindicius, lurked there undiscovered. Not that he had placed himself in that room by design, neither had he any suspicion of what was about to be transacted; but happening to be there, and perceiving with what haste and concern they entered, he stopped short from fear of being seen, and hid himself behind a chest; yet so that he could see what was done, and hear what was determined¹⁴. Their resolution was, to kill the consuls; and having written letters to this purport to Tarquin, they delivered them to the ambassadors, who were at that time guests to the Aquilii¹⁵, and present at the conspiracy.

When the affair was over, they withdrew; and Vindicius, stealing from his lurking-hole, was uncertain what use he should make of his accidental discovery, and disturbed with doubts. He thought it shocking, as indeed it was, to accuse the sons of the most horrid crimes to their father Brutus, or the

¹² Such a horrid sacrifice, they supposed, would oblige every member of the conspiracy to inviolable secrecy. Catiline put the same in practice afterward. (L.) This shocking rite is not mentioned by Livy, or Dion. Halic.*

¹³ The word *θιγεῖν* signifies 'to taste,' as well as 'to touch.'

¹⁴ Dion. Halic. (v. 2.) says, that Vindicius entertained some suspicion of mischief, and watched the party: and Livy (ii. 4.) affirms, that he actually knew of the plot, and only deferred the disclosure, till by means of their letters to the ambassadors he could ensure their conviction. Plutarch's account, however, appears to M. Ricard the most natural.*

¹⁵ There is here, perhaps, a little inaccuracy; as it was not at that time usual for ambassadors to take up their residence at private houses, and from what follows it appears, that some of their letters and servants were seized at the late king's palace. *Μὴνι αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀκυλίων ξένοι γεγονότες*, may however imply, that they had been invited from the mansion publicly assigned their residence, to spend a few days with the chief of the conspirators.*

nephews to their uncle Collatinus; and it did not presently occur to him, that any private Roman was fit to be trusted with so important a secret. On the other hand, he was so much tormented with the knowledge of such an abominable treason, that he could do any thing rather than conceal it. At length, induced by the public spirit and humanity of Valerius, he bethought himself of applying to him; a man easy of access, and willing to be consulted by the necessitous, whose house was always open, and who never refused to hear the petitions even of the meanest of the people.

When Vindicius then came and discovered to him the whole, in the presence of his brother Marcus and his wife, Valerius astonished and terrified at the plot would not let the man go, but shut him up in the room, and left his wife to watch the door. He afterward ordered his brother to surround the late king's palace, to seize the letters if possible, and to secure the servants; while he himself, with many clients and friends whom he always had about him, and a numerous retinue of servants, went to the house of the Aquilii. As they were gone out, and no one expected him, he forced open the doors, and found the letters in the ambassadors' room. While he was thus employed, the Aquilii ran home in the utmost haste, and engaged with him at the door, endeavouring to force the letters from him. But Valerius and his party repelled their attack, and twisting their gowns about their necks, after much struggling on both sides, dragged them with great difficulty through the streets into the Forum. Marcus Valerius had the same success at the royal palace, where he seized other letters ready to be conveyed away among the goods, laid hands upon what servants of the king's he could find, and dragged them also into the Forum.

When the consuls had put a stop to the tumult, Vindicius was produced by order of Valerius; and the accusation being lodged, the letters were read,

which the traitors had not the assurance to contradict. A melancholy stillness reigned among the rest; but a few, willing to favour Brutus, suggested banishment. The tears of Collatinus, and the silence of Valerius, gave some hopes of mercy. But Brutus called upon each of his sons by name, and said; "You, Titus, and you, Valerius"¹⁶, why do not you "make your defence against the charge?" After they had been thus questioned three several times, and made no answer, he turned to the lictors, and said; "Yours is the part that remains." The lictors immediately laid hold on the youths, stripped them of their garments, and having tied their hands behind them, flogged them severely with their rods. And though others turned their eyes aside, unable to endure the spectacle, yet Brutus (it is said) neither looked another way, nor permitted pity in the least to smooth his stern and angry countenance¹⁷; regarding his sons in the midst of their sufferings with a threatening aspect, till they were extended upon the ground, and their heads cut off with the ax. He then departed, leaving the rest to his colleague. This was an action, which it is not easy to praise or to condemn with propriety. For either the excess of virtue raised his soul above the influence of the passions, or else the excess of resentment depressed it into insensibility. Neither the one nor the other was natural, or suitable to the human faculties, but was either divine or brutal. It is more equitable, however, that our judgement should give it's sanction to the glory of this great man, than that our weak-

¹⁶ The name of Brutus' second son was not Valerius, but Tiberius.

¹⁷ Livy gives a different account of Brutus' behaviour: *Quum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque et os ejus, spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium.* There could not be a more striking spectacle, than the countenance of Brutus; for anguish sat mixed with dignity, and he could not conceal the father, though he supported the magistrate. Liv. ii. 5. (L.) Dion. Halic. (v. 2.) agrees with Plutarch, that whatever he might feel, he showed neither grief nor pity at the time of the execution.*

ness should incline us to doubt his virtue. For the Romans look upon it as a less glorious work for Romulus to have built the city, than for Brutus to have founded and established the commonwealth.

After Brutus had left the tribunal, the thought of what had been done involved the rest in astonishment, silence, and horror. But the easiness and forbearance of Collatinus gave fresh spirits to the Aquilii; they begged time to make their defence, and desired that their slave Vindicius might be restored to them, and not remain with their accusers. The consul was inclined to grant their request, and dismiss the assembly; but Valerius would neither suffer the slave to be taken from among the crowd, nor the people to dismiss the traitors and withdraw. At last he seized the criminals himself, and called for Brutus; exclaiming that Collatinus acted most unworthily, in having laid his colleague under the hard necessity of putting his own sons to death, and then inclining to gratify the women by releasing the betrayers and the enemies of their country. Collatinus upon this, losing all patience, commanded Vindicius to be taken away: the lictors made way through the crowd, seized the man and came to blows with such as endeavoured to rescue him. The friends of Valerius stood upon their defence, and the people cried out for Brutus. Brutus returned, and silence being made, he said: "It was enough for him to have pronounced judgement upon his own sons; as for the rest, he left them to the sentence of the people, who were now free, and any one that chose might come forward in their defence." They did not however wait for pleadings, but immediately put it to the vote, and with one voice condemned them to die; upon which, they were beheaded. Collatinus, it seems, was somewhat suspected before, on account of his near relation to the royal family; and his second name was obnoxious to the people, who abhorred the very word 'Tarquin.' But, upon this

occasion, he had provoked them beyond expression; and therefore he voluntarily resigned the consulship, and retired from the city¹⁸. A new election consequently was held, and Valerius was chosen in his stead with great honour, as a proper mark of gratitude for his patriotic zeal. The new consul, thinking that Vindicius should have his share of reward, procured a decree of the people that he should receive the freedom of the city, which had never been conferred upon a slave before; and that he should be enrolled in what tribe he pleased, and give his suffrage with it. For other freedmen Appius, wishing to make himself popular, procured a right of voting long afterward. The act of enfranchising a slave is to this day called *Vindicta*, as we are told, from this Vindicius¹⁹.

The next steps taken were, to give up the goods of the Tarquins to be plundered, and to level their palace and their other houses with the ground. The pleasantest part of the Campus Martius had been in their possession, and this was now consecrated to the god Mars²⁰. It happened to be the time of harvest, and the sheaves then lay upon the ground; but as it was consecrated, they thought it not lawful to thresh the corn, or to make use of it: a great number of people therefore took it up in baskets, and threw it into the river. The trees were also cut down and thrown

¹⁸ Through a great part of this story, Dion. Halic. (v. 2.) is at variance both with Plutarch and Livy. But some parts of his narrative are scarcely consistent with his own portrait of the austere Brutus.*

¹⁹ There were three modes of regular emancipation, but none of them gave the right of suffrage. It was only in the third generation, that perfect citizenship was attained. In the multiplied regulations of municipal law however, an enlightened foreigner, like Plutarch, might pardonably fall into misapprehensions. For the name *vindicta* other sources are assigned by etymologists.*

²⁰ Plutarch should have said, 're-consecrated.' For it had been devoted to that god in the time of Romulus, as well adapted to military exercises, as appears from his laws: but the Tarquins had sacrilegiously converted it to their own use. (Dion. Halic. v. 2.)

in after it, and the ground left entirely without fruit or produce, for the service of the god ²¹. A great quantity of different sorts of things being thus thrown in together, they were not carried far by the current, but only to the shallows where the first heaps had stopped. There every thing rested, finding no farther passage, and the whole was bound still faster by the river: for that washed down to it a great quantity of mud, which not only enlarged but cemented the mass; and the current, far from dissolving it, by it's gentle pressure, gave it additional firmness. The bulk and solidity of this mass received continual accessions, most of what was brought down by the Tiber settling there. It is now an island sacred to religious uses ²², several temples and porticos having been built upon it, and is called in Latin, *Inter duos pontes* ²³, the island 'between the two bridges.' Some say, however, that this did not happen at the dedication of Tarquin's field, but many ages afterward; when Tarquinia, a vestal, gave another adjacent field to the public, for which she was honoured with great privileges, particularly that of bearing her testimony in court, a privilege refused to all other women: they likewise voted her the

²¹ A field so kept was very properly consecrated to the god of war, who lays waste all before him.

²² Livy says, it was secured against the force of the current by jettées.

²³ The Fabrician bridge (*hodie* Ponte dei quattro Capi; on account of a statue of marble with four heads, supposed to represent Janus) joined it to the city on the side of the Capitol, and the Cestian bridge (*hodie* Ponte S. Bartolomeo) on the side of the Janiculine gate. It is now called 'the isle of St. Bartholomew,' from a church built upon it in honour of that saint. The story is rendered the more credible, if we consider that the rapidity of the river was at that season much diminished by the summer heats, that the trees cut down in the Campus Martius would not easily be carried down by it's force, and that the Romans probably (as Livy observes, ii. 5.) would assist it by their labours, to give it as much stability as possible for their temples, porticos, &c. It is about a quarter of a mile long, pointed at it's extremities, and not much unlike a ship in it's general appearance.*

liberty of marrying²⁴, but of this she declined to avail herself. This is the account, though seemingly fabulous, which some give of the matter.

Tarquin, hopeless of re-ascending the throne by stratagem, applied to the Tuscans, who afforded him a kind reception, and prepared to conduct him back with an immense force. The consuls led the Roman troops against them; and the two armies were drawn up in certain consecrated parcels of ground, the one called the Arsian grove, the other the Æsuvian meadow. When they came to charge, Aruns the son of Tarquin and Brutus the Roman consul²⁵ met each other, not by accident, but by design. Stimulated by hatred and resentment, the one against the tyrant and enemy of his country, the other against the author of his banishment, they spurred their horses to the encounter. As they engaged rather with fury than with judgement, they laid themselves open, and fell by each other's hand. The battle, whose onset was so dreadful, had a not less dreadful conclusion: the carnage was prodigious, and equal on both sides, till at length the armies were separated by a storm.

Valerius was in the utmost perplexity, as he knew not which side had the victory, and found his men as much dismayed at the sight of their own dead, as animated by the slaughter of the enemy. So great indeed was the carnage, that it could not be distinguished which had the advantage; and each army having a near view of their own loss, and only guess-

²⁴ From this passage it appears, and A. Gellius (vi. 7.) affirms, that the vestals had not originally the privilege of marrying even after their thirty years of priesthood were expired. It was afterward, however, made general.*

²⁵ Brutus is deservedly reckoned among the most illustrious heroes. He restored liberty to his country, secured it with the blood of his own sons, and died in defending it against a tyrant. The Romans subsequently erected his statue in the Capitol, where he was placed in the midst of the kings of Rome, with a naked sword in his hand.

ing at that of their adversaries, were inclined to think themselves vanquished rather than victorious. When night came on—such a night, as one might imagine after a day so bloody—and both camps were hushed in silence and repose, the grove (it is said) shook, and a loud voice proceeding from it declared, that “the Tuscans had lost one man more than the Romans.” The voice was, undoubtedly, divine²⁶: for immediately the Romans recovered their spirits, and the field rung with acclamations; while the Tuscans, struck with fear and confusion, deserted their entrenchments, and most of them dispersed. Those that remained, who were not quite five thousand, the Romans took prisoners, and plundered the camp. When the dead were numbered, there were found on the side of the Tuscans eleven thousand three hundred, and on that of the Romans as many, excepting one. This battle is said to have been fought on the last day of February. Valerius was honoured with a triumph, and was the first consul who made his entry in a chariot and four. The occasion rendered the spectacle glorious and venerable, not invidious, and (as some would have it) grievous to the Romans; for, if that had been the case, the custom would not have been so zealously kept up, nor would the ambition to obtain a triumph have continued so many ages. The people were pleased likewise with the honours paid by Valerius to the remains of his colleague, his burying him with so much pomp, and pronouncing his funeral oration; with which last the Romans were so generally gratified, or rather so much delighted, that afterward all their great and illustrious men, upon their decease,

²⁶ It was said to be the voice of the god Pan. (L.) Livy (ii. 7.) ascribes it to Sylvanus, Dion. Halic. to Faunus. Pan, one of Bacchus' officers, was the first who made use of stratagem to terrify the enemy's army, whence (according to some) the name of 'panic terrors.' See however Plut. *Περὶ Ἰσίδ. καὶ Οσφιδ. ιδ'.* (Polyæn. Strat. i. 2.) Dion. Halic. differs from Plutarch in the sequel of this story.*

had their encomium from persons of distinction²⁷. This funeral oration was more ancient than any among the Greeks; unless we allow that Solon, as Anaximenes the orator affirms, was the author of this custom.

But what offended and exasperated the people, was this: Brutus, whom they considered as the father of liberty, refused to rule alone, and took to himself a first and a second colleague; "Yet this man," said they, "grasps the whole authority, and is the successor not to the consulate of Brutus, to which he has no right, but to the tyranny of Tarquin. To what purpose is it in words to extol Brutus, and in deeds to imitate Tarquin; while he has all the rods and axes carried before himself alone, and sets out from a mansion more stately than the royal palace which he has demolished?" Valerius, it is true, lived in a house too lofty and superb on the Velian eminence, which commanded the Forum and every thing that passed; and as the avenues were difficult, and the ascent steep, when he came down from it his appearance was extremely imposing, and resembled the state of a king more than that of a consul. But he soon showed, of what consequence it is for persons in high stations and authority to have their ears open to truth and good advice, rather than to flattery. For when his friends informed him, that most people thought he was taking wrong steps, he made no resistance nor expressed any resentment, but hastily assembled a number of workmen while it

²⁷ Funeral orations were not in use among the Greeks, till the battle of Marathon (as Diod. Sic. affirms, xi. 33.) which was sixteen years after the death of Brutus. (L.) Public games were celebrated at the obsequies of their great men, but the law which ordained their *Agones* was of much later institution. Plutarch assigns to it too early a date, when he ascribes it to Solon.* The heroes of Marathon did, indeed, well deserve a panegyric; and the Grecians never granted it but to those, who were slain fighting for their country. In this respect, the custom of the Romans, as Dion. Halic. (v. 3.) observes, was more equitable; for they honoured with those public marks of regard such, as had served their country in any capacity.

was yet night, who entirely demolished his house : so that, when the Romans in the morning assembled to look upon it, they admired and adored his magnanimity ; but at the same time grieved to behold so grand and magnificent an edifice ruined by the envy of the citizens, as they would have lamented the death of a great man, who had fallen as suddenly and by the same cause. It gave them pain likewise to see the consul, who had now no home, obliged to take shelter in another man's house. For Valerius was entertained by his friends, till the people provided a piece of ground for him, where a less stately house was built, on the spot upon which the temple of Victory now stands ²⁸.

Desirous to make his high office, as well as himself, rather agreeable than formidable to the people, he ordered the axes to be separated from the rods ; and directed that, whenever he went to the great assembly, the rods should be veiled in respect to the citizens, as if in them resided the supreme power : a custom, which the consuls observe to this day ²⁹. The people were not aware, that by this he did not lessen his own power (as they imagined) but only by moderation obviated and cut off all occasion of envy, and gained as much authority to his person, as he seemed to forego in his office : for they all submitted to him with pleasure, and were so much charmed with his behaviour, that they gave him the name of

²⁸ Plutarch has it, 'where the temple called *Vicus Publicus* now stands.' He had found in the historians *vica potæ*, which in the old Latin signifies 'victory ;' but as he did not understand it, he substituted *Vicus Publicus*, which would here have no sense at all. (L.) The name *Vica Potæ* occurs in Livy (ii. 7.), and is supposed to be derived from *vincere* and *potiri*. The prohibition subsequently issued, that no patrician should reside near the Capitol, Plutarch elsewhere ascribes to this event ; but Livy (vi. 20.) makes it posterior to the condemnation of Manlius, who after having saved that building from the Gauls, was suspected of aspiring to sovereign power, and upon that account precipitated from the Tarpeian rock.*

²⁹ The axes too were still borne before the consuls, when they were in the field

Publicola, that is 'the People's respectful friend.' In this, both his former names were absorbed; and this we shall make use of throughout the sequel of his Life.

It was no more, indeed, than his due; for he permitted all to sue for the consulship³⁰. Yet before a colleague was appointed him, as he knew not what might happen and was apprehensive of some opposition from ignorance or envy, while he had the sole power, he made use of it to establish some of the most important and excellent regulations. In the first place, he filled up the senate, which was at that time very thin; several of that august body having been put to death by Tarquin before, and others having fallen in the late battle. He is said to have completed their number to a hundred and sixty-four. He next caused certain laws to be enacted, which considerably augmented the power of the people. The first gave liberty of appeal from the consuls to the people; the second made it death to enter upon the magistracy without the people's consent; the third was greatly in favour of the poor, as by exempting them from taxes³¹, it promoted their attention to manufactures. Even his law against disobedience to the consuls was not less popular than the rest; and, in effect, it favoured the commonalty rather than the great; for the fine was only the value of five oxen and two sheep. The value of a sheep was ten oboli, of an ox a hundred³²; the Romans as yet not making much use of money, because their wealth

³⁰ If Publicola gave the plebeians, as well as the patricians, a right to the consulate, that right did not then take place. He himself indeed (it appears below) procured the election of two patrician consuls, Lucretius and Marcus Horatius, as his colleagues, in succession. Lucius Sextius was the first plebeian who attained that honour, many ages after the time of which Plutarch speaks: and this continued only eleven years. (Liv. vii. 18.)

³¹ He exempted artificers, widows and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute.

³² Before this, the fine was such as the commonalty could not pay without absolute ruin.

consisted in abundance of cattle. To this day they call their substance *peculia*, from *pecus*, 'cattle;' their most ancient coins having the impression of an ox, a sheep, or a hog, and their sons being distinguished with the names of Suilli, Bubulci, Caprarii, and Porcii, derived from the names of those animals³³.

Though these laws of Publicola were popular and equitable, yet amidst this moderation the punishment, which he appointed in one case, was severe. For he made it lawful, without form of trial, to kill any man that should attempt to set himself up for king; and the person, who took away his life, was to stand excused, if he could adduce proof of the intended crime. His reason for such a law, we presume, was the following: though it is not possible that he, who undertakes so great an enterprise, should escape all notice; yet he may very probably, even if suspected, accomplish his designs, before he can be brought to answer for it in a judicial way: and as the crime, if committed, would prevent his being called to account for it at all, this law empowered any one to punish him before such cognisance was taken.

His law concerning the treasury did him honour. It was necessary, that money should be raised for the war from the estates of the citizens: but he determined that neither he himself, nor any of his friends, should have the disposal of it; neither would he suffer it to be lodged in any private house. He therefore appointed as a treasury the temple of Saturn, which is still used for that purpose, and empowered the people to choose two young men as *quæstors*, or *treasurers*³⁴. The first were Publius Veturius and

³³ The best families, as M. Ricard observes, often bore names derived from country-animals, because they were of the rustic tribes, a class much more honourable than those of the city, which chiefly consisted of tradesmen and artisans.*

³⁴ The office of the *quæstors* was to take care of the public treasure, for which they were accountable when their year expired;

Marcus Minutius; and a large sum was collected: for a hundred and thirty thousand persons were taxed, though the orphans and widows stood excused.

These matters thus regulated, he procured Lucretius, the father of the injured Lucretia, to be appointed his colleague. To him he gave the fasces (as they are called) together with the precedence, as the older man; and this mark of respect to age has continued ever since. As Lucretius died a few days afterward, another election was held, and Marcus Horatius³⁵ was appointed in his room for the remainder of the year.

About that time, Tarquin making preparations for a second war against the Romans, a great prodigy is said to have taken place. This prince, while yet upon the throne, had almost finished the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, when either by the direction of an oracle³⁶, or from some whim of his own, he

to furnish the necessary sums for the service of the public; and to receive and attend ambassadors, and provide them with lodgings and other necessities. A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph, till he had given them a faithful account of the spoils which he had taken, and confirmed it by an oath. There were at first only two quæstors, but when the Roman empire was considerably enlarged, their number was increased. Their office, though frequently discharged by persons who had been consuls, was the first step to great employments. (L.) Plutarch seems to refer to the date of their first institution; see also Livy iv. 14. But Tacitus (Ann. xi. 22.) assigns them to the æra of the kings, and says that it was sixty-three years after the expulsion of Tarquin, before the right of electing them was transferred to the people. Of this, probably, Plutarch here speaks.*

³⁵ Horatius Polvillus.

³⁶ It was a usual thing to place chariots, &c. on the tops of temples, called *Fastigia*. Neither Livy, however, nor Dion. Halic. mention this chariot; though they detail, with sufficient minuteness, the building of the temple by Tarquin. The increase or contraction of any fatal substance was considered as an omen of good or ill fortune respectively. The enlargement of a loaf of bread in the oven announced to the shepherd Perdiccas the crown of Macedon (Herod. viii. 137.); and the diminution of the *Sortes Prænestinæ* (Liv. xxi. 62., xxii. 1.) sent the decenvirs to their sacred books, to learn how they might avert the dreadful augury.*

ordered the artists of Veii to make an earthen chariot, which was to be placed upon it's top. Soon after this, he lost the crown. The Tuscans however moulded the chariot, and set it in the furnace; but the case was very different with it from that of other clay in the fire, which condenses and contracts upon the exhalation of the moisture; whereas this enlarged itself and swelled to such a size and hardness, that it was with difficulty drawn out, even after the furnace was dismantled. The soothsayers being of opinion, that this chariot betokened power and success to the persons with whom it should remain, the people of Veii determined not to give it up to the Romans; but upon their demanding it replied, "That it belonged to Tarquin, not to those who had driven him from his kingdom." It happened that, a few days afterward, there was a chariot-race at Veii, which went off in the usual manner; except that as the charioteer, who had won the prize and received the crown, was gently driving out of the ring, the horses took fright without any visible cause; and, either by some direction of the gods or some turn of fortune, ran away with their driver at full speed toward Rome. It was in vain that he pulled the reins, or soothed them with words; he was obliged to give way to their career, and was whirled along till they came to the Capitol, where they threw him out at the gate now called *Ratumena*³⁷. The Veientes, surprised and terrified at this incident, ordered the artists to give up the chariot³⁸.

Tarquin the son of Demaratus, in his wars with the Sabines, made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter

³⁷ The young man's name was Ratumenas. See Plin. viii. 42., and Festus voc. *Ratumenas*.*

³⁸ A miracle of this kind, and not less extraordinary, is said to have happened in modern Rome. When poor St. Michael's church was in a ruinous condition, the horses, that were employed in drawing stones for other purposes through the city, unanimously agreed to carry their loads to St. Michael!

Capitolinus ; which was performed by Tarquin the Proud, the son or grandson of the former³⁹. He did not however consecrate it, for before it was quite finished, he was expelled from Rome⁴⁰. When it was completed, and had received every suitable ornament, Publicola was ambitious of the honour of dedicating it. This excited the envy of some of the nobility, who could better brook his other honours ; to which indeed, in his legislative and military capacities, he had a superior claim : but, as he had no concern in this, instead of granting it to him, they encouraged and importuned Horatius to apply for it. In the mean time, Publicola's command of the army necessarily required his absence ; and his adversaries, seizing this opportunity to procure an order from the people that Horatius should dedicate the temple, conducted him to the Capitol : a point, which they could not have gained, had Publicola been present. Yet some say, the consuls having cast lots for it⁴¹, the dedication fell to Horatius ; and the expedition, against his inclination, to Publicola. We may easily conjecture, however, how they stood disposed, by the proceedings upon the day of dedication. This was the thirteenth of September, which is about the full moon of the month Metagitnion ; when prodigious numbers of all ranks being assembled, and silence enjoined, Horatius after the other ceremonies took hold of one of the gate-posts (as the custom is), and was going to pro-

³⁹ Livy (i. 46.) has the same doubt upon this subject, though he seems inclined to the former opinion. But Dion. Halic. has proved (iv. 2.) by indisputable arguments, that Lucius and Aruns Tarquinius were the grandchildren of the elder Tarquin.*

⁴⁰ This temple was two hundred feet long, and upward of one hundred and eighty-five broad. The front was adorned with three rows of columns, and the sides with two. In the nave were three shrines, one of Jupiter, another of Juno, and the third of Minerva. See a description of it in Dion. Halic. iv. 13.

⁴¹ Livy says positively (ii. 8.), ‘ they cast lots for it.’ And from him Plutarch seems to have taken the sequel of the story. (L.) It was a high honour, because the name of the dedicator was inscribed on the front of the temple.*

nounce the prayer of consecration. But Marcus the brother of Publicola, who had stood for some time by the gates watching his opportunity, cried out; "Consul, your son lies dead in the camp." This gave great pain to all, who heard it: but the consul, not in the least disconcerted, replied, "Then cast out the carcase where you please, I admit of no mourning upon this occasion;" and so proceeded to finish the dedication. The intelligence however was a fabrication of Marcus, who hoped thus to prevent Horatius from completing what he was about. But his presence of mind is equally admirable, whether he immediately perceived the falsity, or believed the account to be correct without betraying any emotion upon it.

The same fortune attended the dedication of the second temple. The first built by Tarquin, and dedicated by Horatius as we have related, was subsequently destroyed by fire in the civil wars⁴². Sylla rebuilt it, but did not live to consecrate it; upon which the dedication of this second temple fell to Catulus. It was again destroyed in the troubles, which happened in the time of Vitellius; and a third was built by Vespasian, who with his usual good fortune put the last hand to it, but did not see it demolished, as it was soon afterward: happier in this respect than Sylla, who died before his was dedicated, Vespasian died before his was destroyed. For, immediately after his decease, the Capitol was burned,

⁴² After its destruction in the wars between Sylla and Marius (A. U. C. 669.) Sylla rebuilt it with columns of marble, which he had taken out of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and transported to Rome. But (as Plutarch observes) he did not live to consecrate it; and he was heard to say, as he was dying, that his leaving that temple to be dedicated by another was the only unfortunate circumstance of his life. (L.) It was burned a second time, when Vitellius was besieging Flavius Sabinus in the Capitol; but whether by the besiegers or besieged, as Tacitus (Hist. iii. 71, 72.) states, is doubtful. Vespasian restored it the year following; and the last-mentioned historian (Hist. iv. 53.) details all the ceremonies used upon the occasion. It was finally rebuilt by Domitian, and inscribed (as Suetonius affirms) with his name, without any mention of its original founder.*

The fourth, which is now standing, was built and dedicated by Domitian. 'Tarquin is said to have expended thirty thousand pounds' weight of silver upon the foundations alone; but the greatest wealth, of which any private man is supposed to be now possessed in Rome, would not defray the expense of the mere gilding of the present temple, which amounted to more than twelve thousand talents⁴³. The pillars are of Pentelic marble, and the thickness was in most exact proportion to their length, when we saw them at Athens: upon being cut however and polished anew at Rome, they gained less in the polish, than they lost in the proportion; for their beauty is injured by their appearing too slender for their height⁴⁴. But after admiring the magnificence of the Capitol, if any one were to go and see a gallery, a hall or bath, or the apartments of the women in Domitian's palace; what is said by Epicharmus of a prodigal,

Your lavish'd stores speak not the liberal mind,
But the disease of giving,

he might apply to that emperor in some such manner as this: "Neither piety, nor magnificence, " appears in your expense; you have the disease

⁴³ Livy (i. 55.) judiciously prefers the more moderate estimate of Fabius, an elder historian, to that of Piso, whom Plutarch seems to follow.* The great interval between the wealth of private citizens in a free country, and that of the subjects of an arbitrary monarch, is highly deserving of remark. In Trajan's time, there was not a private man in Rome worth 200,000*l.*; whereas under the commonwealth Æmilius Scaurus, in his ædileship, erected a temporary theatre which cost above 500,000*l.*; Marcus Crassus had an estate in land of above a million a year; L. Cornelius Balbus left by will to every Roman citizen twenty-five denarii, which amounts to about sixteen shillings of our money; and many private men among the Romans, more for ostentation than for service, maintained from ten to twenty thousand slaves. No wonder then that the slaves once took up arms, and went to war with the commonwealth.

⁴⁴ The Roman artists, by the concession of their own writers, were always both in taste and execution inferior to those of Greece. See Hor. *Ep.* to Aug., and *Art. Poet.**

“ of building ; like Midas of old, you would turn every thing to gold and marble.” So much for this subject.

Let us now return to Tarquin. After the great battle, in which his son was killed in single combat by Brutus, he fled to Clusium, and begged assistance of Laras⁴⁵ Porsena, the most powerful prince in Italy, and a man of eminent worth and honour. Porsena promised him succours⁴⁶ ; and, in the first place, sent to the Romans, commanding them to receive Tarquin. Upon their refusal, he declared war against them ; and having informed them of the time when, and the place where, he intended to make his assault, he marched thither accordingly with a considerable army. Publicola, who was then absent, was chosen consul the second time⁴⁷ ; and with him Titus Lucretius. Returning to Rome, and desirous to outdo Porsena in spirit⁴⁸, he built the town of Sigliuria, notwithstanding the enemy's approach ; and when at an immense expense he had finished the walls, he placed in it a colony of seven hundred men, as if he held his adversary very cheap. Porsena however assaulted it in a spirited manner, drove out the garrison, and pursued the fugitives so close, that he was very near entering Rome along with them. But Publicola met him without the gates, and engaging him by the side of the river,

⁴⁵ Many commentators regard this as a name of honour, implying the head of the twelve Lucumons, or dodecarchy of Etruria ; but Dion. Halic., v. 4., considers it as a private name.*

⁴⁶ Beside that Porsena was willing to assist a distressed king, he considered the Tarquins as his countrymen, on account of their Tuscan extraction. But the announcing of his plans is not mentioned either by Livy or by Dion. Halic.

⁴⁷ It was when Publicola was consul the third time, and had for colleague Horatius Pulvillus, according to Dion. Halic., that Porsena marched against Rome. (L.) Livy, however, agrees with Plutarch.*

⁴⁸ Sigliuria was not built at this time, nor out of ostentation, as Plutarch says ; for it was built as a barrier against the Latins and the Hernici, and not in the third, but in the second consulship of Publicola. (L.) It is probably the same place, which Livy (i. 55.) calls Signia.*

sustained the enemy's attack, who pressed on with numbers; till at last, sinking under the wounds he had gallantly received, he was carried out of the battle. Lucretius his colleague having had the same fate, the courage of the Romans drooped, and they retreated into the city for security. The enemy making good their pursuit to the wooden-bridge, Rome was in great danger of being taken; when Horatius Cocles⁴⁹, and with him two others of the first rank, Herminius and Spurius Lartius⁵⁰, stopped them at the bridge. Horatius had the surname of 'Cocles' from his having lost an eye in war; or (as some will have it) from the form of his nose, which was so extremely flat that both his eyes, as well as eye-brows, seemed to be joined together; so that when the vulgar intended to call him 'Cyclops,' by a misnomer they called him Cocles, which name he retained⁵¹. This man, standing at the head of the bridge, defended it against the enemy, till the Romans broke it down behind him. He then, 'accounted as he was,' plunged into the Tiber, and swam to the other side, but was wounded in the hip with a Tuscan spear. Publicola, struck with admiration of his valour, immediately procured a decree, that every Roman should give him one day's provisions⁵²; and that he should have as much

⁴⁹ He was son to a brother of Horatius the consul, and a descendant of that Horatius, who remained victorious in the signal combat between the Horatii and Curiatii under Tullus Hostilius. (L.) In the account of this engagement, the details of Plutarch and Dion. Halic. must be considered as supplementary to each other.*

⁵⁰ In the Greek text it is 'Lucretius,' which is probably a corruption of 'Lartius,' the name we find in Livy. (L.) The bridge was the *Pons Sublicius*.*

⁵¹ Dion. Halic. says, that he was so called, from having lost an eye in this battle (which is the most probable): was a very intrepid warrior, and was the only one of the three who held out to the last; his two companions having retreated, before the bridge was broken down behind them.*

⁵² He had probably three hundred thousand contributors, for even the women readily furnished their quota. (L.) There was at that time, too, a considerable scarcity at Rome.*

land, as he could encircle with a plough in one day. They erected likewise his statue in brass in the temple of Vulcan, with a view to console him by this honour for his wound, and the lameness consequent upon it⁵³.

While Porsena laid close siege to the city, the Romans were attacked with famine, and another body of Tuscans ravaged the country. Publicola, who was now consul the third time, was of opinion that no operations could be carried on against Porsena but defensive ones. He marched out⁵⁴ however privately against those Tuscans who had committed such ravages, defeated them, and killed five thousand.

The story of Mucius⁵⁵ has been the subject of many pens, and is variously related: I shall give that account of it, which appears the most credible. Mucius was in all respects a man of merit, but particularly distinguished by his valour. Having secretly formed a scheme to take off Porsena, he made his way into his camp in a Tuscan dress, where he likewise took care to speak the Tuscan language. Thus disguised he approached the seat, where the king sat with his nobles; and as he did not certainly know Porsena, and thought it improper to inquire, he drew his sword, and killed the person who seemed most likely to be the king. Upon this he was seized, and examined. In the mean time, as there happened to be a portable altar in the place with fire upon it, where the king was about to offer

⁵³ This defect, and his having but one eye, prevented his ever being consul. (L.) To reconcile the site here assigned to the statue with the accounts given by Livy (li. 10.) and Dion. Halic., who both state that it was placed in a different situation, consult A. Gellius iv. 5.*

⁵⁴ The consuls spread a report, which was soon carried into the Tuscan camp by the slaves who deserted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country would be sent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambush.

⁵⁵ C. Mucius Cordus.

sacrifice, Mucius thrust his right hand into it⁵⁶: and, while the flesh was burning, kept looking upon Porsena with a firm and menacing aspect: till the king, astonished at his fortitude, returned him his sword with his own hand. He received it with his left-hand (whence we are told he had the surname of 'Scævola,' signifying 'left-handed') and thus addressed himself to Porsena; "Your threatenings I regarded not, but I am conquered by your generosity, and out of gratitude will declare to you, what no force should have wrested from me. There are three hundred Romans that have formed the same resolution with mine, who now wander about your camp, watching their opportunity. It was my lot to make the first attempt, and I am not sorry that my sword was directed by fortune against another, instead of a man of so much honour; who, as such, should rather be a friend than an enemy to the Romans." Porsena believed this account, and was more inclined to hearken to terms, not so much (in my opinion) through fear of the three hundred assassins, as from admiration of the dignity of the Roman valour⁵⁷. All authors call this man Mucius Scævola⁵⁸, except Athenodorus Sandon, who in a work addressed to Augustus' sister Octavia, affirms that he was named Posthumius.

Publicola, who did not regard Porsena as so bitter

⁵⁶ Livy (ii. 12.) says, that Porsena threatened Mucius with the torture by fire, to make him discover his accomplices; upon which Mucius thrust his hand into the flame, to let him see that he was not to be intimidated. (L.) In the particulars of the narrative this historian, Val. Max. (iii. 3.), and Plutarch nearly agree. Those detailed by Dion. Halic. (v. 4.) are somewhat different. Among other circumstances, he wholly omits the mention of his burning off his right-hand.*

⁵⁷ Dion Halic. however ascribes the pacification to the successful sally of Publicola, mentioned above, which he relates as subsequent to Mucius' exploit.*

⁵⁸ Mucius was rewarded with a large piece of ground belonging to the public. (L.) Sandon, a stoic philosopher of Tarsus mentioned below, was successively tutor to Augustus and Tiberius Caesar.*

an enemy to Rome, but that he deserved to be taken into it's friendship and alliance, far from refusing to refer the dispute with Tarquin to his decision, was really desirous of it; and several times offered to prove, that Tarquin was the worst of men, and justly deprived of the crown. Tarquin roughly replying, that he would admit of no arbitrator, much less of Porsena, if he changed his mind and forsook his alliance⁵⁹; Porsena was offended, and began to entertain an ill opinion of him: and being solicited by his son Aruns, who used all his interest for the Romans, he was prevailed upon to put an end to the war, on condition of their ceding the part of Tuscany which they had conquered⁶⁰, together with their prisoners, and receiving their deserters. For the performance of these conditions, they gave as hostages ten young men and ten virgins, of the best families in Rome; among whom was Valeria, the daughter of Publicola.

Upon the faith of this treaty, Porsena had discontinued all acts of hostility; when the Roman virgins went down to bathe, at a place where the bank forming itself in a crescent embays the river in such a manner, as to make it quite calm and undisturbed with waves. As no guard was near, and they saw none passing or repassing, they had a violent inclination to swim over, notwithstanding the depth and the strength of the stream⁶¹. Some say one of them, named Clœlia, passed it on horseback, and encouraged the other virgins as they swam. When they came safe to Publicola, he neither commended nor approved their exploit; but was grieved to think that he should appear inferior

⁵⁹ This answer is not recorded by Livy, nor from the statement of Dion. Halic. (v. 4.) does it appear at all probable.*

⁶⁰ The Romans were required to re-instate the Veientes in the possession of seven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars. (Liv. ii. 13.)

⁶¹ Here the historians so often quoted, Livy and Dion. Halic., vary from Plutarch and from each other; but to an extent so slight, as not to justify any detail of their differences.*

to Porsena in point of honour, and that this daring enterprise of the virgins should subject the Romans to a suspicion of unfair proceeding. He took them, therefore, and sent them back to Porsena. Tarquin, having timely intelligence of this, laid an ambuscade for them, and attacked their convoy with a great superiority of force. They stood, however, upon their defence; and Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, broke through the combatants with three servants, who conducted her safe to Porsena's camp. As the skirmish was not yet decided nor the danger over, Aruns the son of Porsena, being informed of it, marched up with all speed, put the enemy to flight, and rescued the Romans. When Porsena saw the virgins returned, he demanded which of them was she that proposed the design, and set the example. Being informed that Clœlia was the person, he treated her with great politeness; and, commanding one of his own horses to be brought with very elegant trappings, made her a present of it. Those who contend, that Clœlia was the only one that passed the river on horseback, allege this as a proof. But others affirm, that no such consequence can be drawn from it, and that it was nothing more than a mark of honour to her from the Tuscan king, for her bravery. An equestrian statue of her stands in the *Via Sacra*⁶², where it leads to mount Palatine; which some however will have to be Valeria's, not Clœlia's statue.

Porsena, thus reconciled to the Romans, gave many proofs of his greatness of mind. Among the rest, he ordered the Tuscans to carry off nothing but their arms, and to leave their camp full of provisions and many other things of value for the Romans. Hence it is that even in our times, whenever there is a sale of goods belonging to the public,

⁶² Dion. Halic. expressly informs us, that in his time (that is, in the reign of Augustus) there were no remains of that statue, it having been consumed by fire. (L.) Pliny, however (xxxiv. 6.), agrees with Plutarch.*

they are cried first as ‘the goods of Porsena⁶³,’ to eternise the memory of his generosity. A brasen statue, of rude and antique workmanship, was also erected to his honour, near the senate-house⁶⁴.

After this, the Sabines invading the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, and Posthumius Tubertus were elected consuls. As every important action was still conducted by the advice and assistance of Publicola, Marcus gained two great battles; in the second of which he killed thirteen thousand of the enemy, without the loss of a single Roman. For this he was not only rewarded with a triumph, but a house was built for him at the public expense on mount Palatine⁶⁵. And whereas the doors of other houses at that time opened inward, it's street-door was made to open outward, to show by this honourable distinction, that he was always ready to receive any proposal for the public service⁶⁵. All the doors in Greece, they tell us, were formerly made to open in this manner; which they prove from those passages in the comedies, where it is mentioned that persons going out knocked loudly on the inside of the doors first, to give warning to such as were passing by or standing before them, lest the doors in opening should dash against them.

The year following, Publicola was appointed consul the fourth time, because a confederacy between the Sabines and Latins threatened a war; and, at the same time, the city was oppressed with supersti-

⁶³ This, however (according to Liv. ii. 14.), was differently interpreted; for, though he agrees with Plutarch, others it seems considered the phrase as intended to record the failure of Porsena's enterprise.*

⁶⁴ The senate likewise, according to Dion. Halic. sent an embassy to him, with a present of a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe. Neither he, nor Livy, mentions this brasen statue.

⁶⁵ Before this house was erected a brasen bull, as an emblem that Valerius by his victories had restored agriculture and abundance to Rome. See Plin. xxxvi. 15.*

⁶⁶ Posthumius had his share in the triumph, as well as in the achievements.

tious terrors, on account of the imperfect births and general abortions among the women. Publicola, having consulted the Sibyl's books upon it ⁶⁷, offered sacrifice to Pluto; and renewed certain games, which had formerly been instituted by the direction of the Delphic oracle. When he had revived the city with the pleasing hope, that the gods were appeased, he prepared to arm against the menaces of men; for there appeared a formidable league and a strong preparation to encounter. Among the Sabines, Appius Clausus ⁶⁸ was a man of opulent fortune, and remarkable personal strength; famed, moreover, for his virtues, and the force of his eloquence. It was his fate, like all great men, to be persecuted by envy: and his opposing the war gave a handle to malignity to insinuate, that he wished to strengthen the Roman power, in order the more easily to enslave his own country. Perceiving that the populace gave a willing ear to these calumnies, and that he was become obnoxious to the abettors of the quarrel, he was apprehensive of an impeachment; but, being powerfully supported by his friends and relations, he

⁶⁷ An unknown woman is said to have come to Tarquin with nine volumes of oracles written by the Sibyl of Cuma, for which she demanded a very considerable price. Tarquin refusing to purchase them at her rate, she burned three of them, and then asked the same price for the remaining six. Her proposal being rejected with scorn, she burned three more, and notwithstanding still insisted on her first price. The king, surprised at the novelty of the thing, put the books in the hands of the augurs to be examined, who advised him to purchase them at any rate. This he did, and appointed two persons of distinction, stiled *Duumviri*, to be their guardians; who locked them up in a vault under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there they were kept till that edifice was consumed by fire in the Marsian war. (Dion. Halic. iv. 14.) These officers, whose number was afterward increased to ten, consulted the Sibylline books by direction of the senate, whenever any dangerous sedition was likely to break out, when the Roman armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared which were thought fatal. They also presided over the sacrifices and shows, which those books appointed to appease the wrath of heaven.

⁶⁸ Called by Dion. Halic. (v. 7.) 'Titus Claudius,' and by Livy (ii. 16.) 'Atta Clausus,' and afterward 'Appius Claudius.'*

excited disturbances, which delayed and suspended the determination for war among the Sabines. Publicola making it his business not only to get intelligence of this sedition, but also to encourage and inflame it, sent proper persons to Appius to represent to him; "That he knew he was a man of too much goodness and integrity to avenge himself of his countrymen, though deeply injured by them: but if he chose for his security to come over to the Romans, and to withdraw out of the way of his enemies, he should find such a reception, both public and private, as was suitable to his virtue and the dignity of Rome." Appius considered this proposal with much attention, and the necessity of his affairs induced him to accept it. He therefore persuaded his friends, and they influenced many others; so that five thousand men⁶⁹ of the most peaceably disposed among the Sabines, with their families, removed with him to Rome. Publicola, who was prepared for this measure, received them in the most friendly and hospitable manner, admitted them to the freedom of the city, and gave them two acres of land a-piece by the river Anio. To Appius he gave twenty-five acres, and a seat in the senate. This laid the foundation of his greatness in the republic, and he used the advantage with so much prudence, as to rise to the first rank in power and authority. The Claudian family⁷⁰, descended from him, is as illustrious as any in Rome.

Though the disputes among the Sabines were de-

⁶⁹ This would imply, at the lowest estimate (of four persons in a family) 20,000 persons, who were provided for by the allotment of half an acre a-piece. Such was the moderation of the ancient Romans.*

⁷⁰ There were two families of the Claudii in Rome; one patrician and the other plebeian. The first had the surname of Pulcher, and the other of Marcellus. In course of time the patrician family produced twenty-three consuls, five dictators, and seven censors; and obtained two triumphs, and two ovations. Of this family the emperor Tiberius was descended. (L.) Out of his followers, according to Dion. Halic. and Livy, the Claudian tribe was formed.*

cided by this migration, the demagogues would not suffer them to rest; representing it as a matter of deep disgrace that Appius, now a deserter and an enemy, should be able to obstruct their taking vengeance of the Romans, when he could not prevent it by his presence. They advanced therefore with a great army, and encamped near Fidenæ. Having ordered two thousand men to lie in ambush in the shrubby and hollow places before Rome, they appointed a few horse at day-break to ravage the country up to the very gates, and then to retreat, till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade⁷¹. But Publicola gaining information that very day of these particulars from deserters, prepared himself accordingly, and made a suitable disposition of his forces. Posthumius Balbus his son-in-law went out with three thousand men, as it began to grow dark, and having taken possession of the summits of the hills, under which the Sabines had concealed themselves, watched his opportunity. His colleague Lucretius, with the lightest and most active of the Romans, was appointed to attack the Sabine cavalry, as they were driving off the cattle; while he himself with the rest of the forces made a large circuit, and enclosed the enemy's rear. The morning happened to be very foggy, when Posthumius at dawn with loud shouts fell upon the ambuscade from the heights, Lucretius charged the horse in their retreat, and Publicola attacked the enemy's camp. The Sabines were every where worsted, and put to the rout. As the Romans did not meet with the least resistance, the slaughter was prodigious. The vain confidence of the Sabines was, obviously, the principal cause of their ruin. While one part thought the other was safe, they did not stand upon their defence; those in the camp ran toward the corps placed in ambuscade, while they in their turn endeavoured to regain

⁷¹ Dion. Halic. gives a different, and much less probable, account of this engagement.*

the camp. Thus they fell in with each other in great disorder, and in mutual want of that assistance, which neither was able to give. The Sabines would have been entirely cut off, had not the city of Fidenæ been so near, which proved an asylum to some, particularly to those that fled when the camp was taken. Such as did not take refuge there, were either destroyed or made prisoners.

The Romans, though accustomed to ascribe every great event to the interposition of the gods, gave the credit of this victory solely to the general; and the first thing which the soldiers were heard to say was, that Publicola had put the enemy into their hands, lame and blind, and almost bound for the slaughter. The people were enriched with the plunder, and the sale of prisoners. Publicola was honoured with a triumph, and having surrendered the administration to the succeeding consuls, died soon afterward; thus finishing his life in circumstances esteemed the happiest and most glorious attainable by man⁷¹. The people, as if they had done nothing to requite his merit in his life-time, decreed that his funeral should be solemnised at the public charge; and to make it the more honourable, every one contributed a piece of money called ‘Quadrans.’ The women likewise, out of particular regard to his memory, continued the mourning for him a whole year. His body also, by an order of the citizens, was interred within the

⁷¹ He was the most virtuous citizen, one of the greatest generals, and the most popular consul Rome ever had. As he had taken more care to transmit virtue than wealth to his posterity, and as notwithstanding the frugality of his life, and the high offices which he had borne, there was not found money enough in his house to defray the charges of his funeral, he was buried at the expense of the public. His poverty is a circumstance, which Plutarch should have mentioned, because a funeral at the public expense was an honour sometimes paid to the opulent. (L.) It is not overlooked by Livy and Dion. Hallc. The amount of the contribution, in that age of poverty, must have been considerable: but Sallust has told us, that they were *in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci*. (Bell. Catil. ix.)*

city⁷³, near the place called Velia, and all his family were to have a burying-place there. At present, indeed, none of his progeny are interred in that ground: the attendants only carry thither the corpse, and set it down; when one of them puts a lighted torch under it, which he immediately withdraws again. By this act they claim the right, but waive the privilege; for the body is taken away, and interred without the walls.

SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

COMPARED.

THERE is something singular in this parallel, and what has not occurred to us in any other of the Lives which we have written, that Publicola should exemplify the maxims of Solon, and that Solon should proclaim before-hand the happiness of Publicola. For the definition of happiness, which Solon gave to Cræsus, is more applicable to Publicola than to Tellus. It is true, he pronounces Tellus happy on account of his virtue, his valuable children, and his glorious death; yet he does not mention him in his poems as particularly distinguished by his virtue, his children, or his employments. But Publicola, in his life-time, attained the highest reputation and autho-

⁷³ This was, at first, the general practice; but in after-times the Twelve Tables prohibiting its continuance, the dead were interred by the side of the public ways, and the distinction of being buried within the walls was reserved (as in Greece) for those, who had rendered eminent services to the commonwealth. Dion. Halic. says, it was exclusively bestowed upon Publicola; but Plutarch elsewhere states that Fabricius enjoyed the same privilege, as did all (according to Pyrrho of Lipara) who had attained the honour of a triumph. The claim, asserted by Publicola's descendents, is not mentioned either by Livy or Dion. Halic.*

rity among the Romans, by means of his virtues; and, after his death, his family was reckoned among the most illustrious: the houses of the Publicolæ, the Messalæ, and Valerii⁷⁴, eminent for the space of six hundred years⁷⁵, still acknowledging him as the fountain of their honour. Tellus like a brave man, keeping his post and fighting to the last, fell by the enemy's hand; whereas Publicola, after having slain his enemies (a much happier circumstance, than to be slain by them) after seeing his country victorious under his guidance as consul and as general, after triumphs and every other mark of honour, died that death, which Solon had so passionately coveted, and declared so happy. Solon again, in his answer to Minnermus, concerning the period of human life, thus exclaims:

Let friendship's faithful heart attend my bier,
Heave the sad sigh, and drop the pitying tear ⁷⁶!

And Publicola had this felicity. For he was lamented, not only by his friends and relations, but by the

⁷⁴ That is, the other Valerii, viz. the Maximi, the Corvini, the Potiti, the Lævini, and the Flacci.

⁷⁵ It appears, from this passage, that Plutarch wrote the life of Publicola about the beginning of Trajan's reign.

⁷⁶ Cicero (Tusc. i. 49., and de Senect. 20.) thought this wish of Solon's unsuitable to so wise a man, and preferred to it that of the poet Ennius, who pleasing himself with the thought of an immortality upon earth as a poet, desired to die unlamented. Cicero rejoiced in the same prospect, as an orator. The passion for immortality is, indeed, a natural one; but as the chief part of our happiness consists in the exercise of the benevolent affections, in giving and receiving sincere testimonies of regard, the undoubted expressions of that regard must sooth the pains of a dying man, and comfort him with the reflection that he has not been wanting in the offices of humanity. (L.)

Minnermus, the inventor of the pentameter verse (Athen. xiii. 8.) was a poet and musician of Colophon, and distinguished chiefly by his Elegies, of which only a few fragments are extant. Horace, who sets him above Callimachus (Ep. II. ii. 101.) represents him as placing all his happiness in *amore jocisque* (Ep. I. ii. 65.); so that, whatever poetry may have suffered by the loss of his works, morality has probably been a gainer by it.*

whole city; thousands attended his funeral with tears, with regret, with the deepest sorrow; and the Roman matrons mourned for him, as for a son, a brother, or a common parent.

Another wish of Solon's is thus expressed:

The flow of riches I desire,
And fain would life's true goods acquire;
But let me justly them attain,
Lest vengeance follow in their train.

And Publicola not only acquired, but employed his riches honourably, for he was a generous benefactor to the poor: so that, if Solon was the wisest, Publicola was the happiest of mankind. What the former had wished for, as the greatest and most desirable of blessings, the latter actually possessed and long continued to enjoy.

Thus Solon did honour to Publicola, and he to Solon in his turn. For he considered him as the most excellent pattern, that could be proposed, in regulating a democracy; and like him laying aside the pride of power, he rendered it gentle and acceptable to all. He also adopted several of Solon's laws; for he empowered the people to elect their own magistrates, and left an appeal to them from the sentence of other courts, as the Athenian lawgiver had done. He did not indeed, with Solon, create a new senate⁷⁷; but he almost doubled the number of that, which he found in being.

His reason for appointing quæstors or treasurers was that, if the consul were a worthy man, he might

⁷⁷ By *ἐκκλησία*, we apprehend that Plutarch here means rather the senate or council of Four Hundred, than the council of Areopagus. The Four Hundred had the pre-cognisance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be proposed to the general assembly, till digested by themselves; so that, as far as he was able, he provided against a thirst of arbitrary power in the higher, and a desire of licentious freedom in the lower orders; the Areopagus being a check upon the former, as the senate was a curb upon the latter. (L.) M. Ricard understands this passage of the Areopagus.*

have leisure to attend to more important affairs ; if unworthy, that he might not have greater opportunities of injustice, when both the government and the treasury were under his direction.

Publicola's aversion from tyrants was stronger even than that of Solon. For the latter made every attempt to establish arbitrary power punishable by law ; but the former made it death, without the formality of trial. Solon, indeed, justly and reasonably plumes himself upon having refused absolute power, when both the state of affairs and the inclinations of the people would have readily admitted it : and yet it was no less glorious for Publicola, that finding the consular authority too despotic, he rendered it milder and more popular, and did not stretch it so far as he might have done. That this was the best method of governing, Solon appears before him to have discovered, when he says of a republic,

The reins nor loosely held nor strictly tied,
Safely the car of slippery power you guide.

But the annulling of debts was peculiar to Solon, and was indeed the most effectual way to support the liberty of the people. For laws intended to establish an equality would be of no avail, so long as the poor were deprived of the benefit of that equality by their debts. Where they seemed most to exercise their liberty, in offices, in debates, and in deciding causes, there they were most enslaved to the rich, and most entirely under their control. What is still more remarkable is that, though the cancelling of debts generally produces seditions, Solon seasonably applied it, as a strong though hazardous medicine, to remove the sedition then existing. The measure likewise lost it's infamous and obnoxious nature, when introduced by a man of Solon's probity and character.

If we consider the whole administration of each, that of Solon was more illustrious in the outset.

He was an original, and followed no example ; besides, by himself, without a colleague, he effected many great things for the public advantage. But Publicola's fortune was more to be admired at the conclusion. For Solon lived to see his own establishment subverted ; whereas that of Publicola preserved the state in good order till the time of the civil wars. And no wonder ; since the former, as soon as he had enacted his laws, left them inscribed on tables of wood without any one to support their authority, and departed from Athens ; whereas the latter, remaining at Rome, and continuing in the magistracy, thoroughly settled and secured the commonwealth.

Solon was sensible of the ambitious designs of Pisistratus, and desirous to prevent their being carried into execution ; but he miscarried in the attempt, and saw a tyrant set up. On the other hand, Publicola demolished kingly power, when it had been established for some ages, and was at a formidable height. He was equalled by Solon in virtue and patriotism, but he had (what Solon wanted) power and good fortune to second his virtue.

As to warlike exploits, there is a considerable difference ; for Daïmachus⁷⁸ of Plataeæ does not attribute to Solon even that enterprise against the Megarensians, which we have done ; whereas Publicola, in many signal battles, performed the duty both of a general and of a private soldier.

Again ; if we compare their conduct in civil affairs, we shall find that Solon, only acting a part as it were, and under the form of a maniac, went out to speak concerning the recovery of Salamis. But Publicola in the face of the most imminent danger rose up against Tarquin, detected the plot, prevented the escape of the vile conspirators, procured their punishment, and not only excluded the

⁷⁸ This Daïmachus, according to Strabo, was sent on an embassy to Allitrochades an Indian prince ; and wrote a History of the country which he visited, as little entitled to credit as that of Megasthenes.*

tyrants from the city, but cut up their hopes by the roots. If he was thus vigorous in prosecuting affairs that demanded spirit, resolution, and open force, he was still more successful in negotiation, and the gentle arts of persuasion; for by his address he gained Porsena, whose power was so formidable that he could not be quelled by dint of arms, and made him a friend to Rome.

But here perhaps some will object, that Solon recovered Salamis, when the Athenians had given it up; whereas Publicola surrendered lands, of which the Romans were in possession. Our judgement of actions, however, should be formed according to the respective times and posture of affairs. An able politician, in order to manage all for the best, varies his conduct, as the present occasion requires; often surrenders a part, to save the whole; and, by yielding in small matters, secures considerable advantages. Thus Publicola, by giving up what the Romans had lately usurped, saved all that was really their own; and, at a time when they found it difficult to defend their city, obtained for them the possession of the besiegers' camp. In effect, by referring his cause to the arbitration of the enemy, he gained his point; and, with that, all the advantages which he could have proposed to himself by a victory. For Porsena put an end to the war, and left the Romans all the provision he had made for carrying it on, induced by that impression of their virtue and honour, which he had received from their general's behaviour.

THE
LIFE
OF
THEMISTOCLES.

SUMMARY.

His extraction. Employments of his youth. He engages in the study of politics. His rivalry with Aristides: his love of glory. He suggests to the Athenians the formation of a navy. His magnificence and ambition. He procures the banishment of Aristides. His firmness: he is chosen general against the Persians, and persuades his countrymen to go on board their vessels. He yields the command to the Spartan general. Battle of Artemisium. Xerxes gains possession of the pass of Thermopylæ. Stratagem of Themistocles to make the Athenians set sail. His scheme for paying the troops. He causes Aristides to be recalled from exile. His memorable speech to Eurybiades. He reduces the Greeks to the necessity of engaging. Three young Persians offered in sacrifice by the Greeks. Number of Xerxes' navy: Themistocles gains the advantage of the wind. Battle, and victory, of Salamis. Xerxes, upon a false suggestion of Themistocles, flies. Honours bestowed on Themistocles. His passion for glory, and his remarkable expressions. He rebuilds the walls of Athens, and fortifies the Piræus. An advantageous project of his rejected, as unjust. He incurs the hatred of Sparta; and the sarcasms of the poet Timocreon. He rates his services too highly, and is banished by the Ostracism: Is suspected of being concerned in Pausanias' conspiracy, and flies to Corcyra. Passes thence to Epirus. Different opinions with regard to his travels. He proceeds to Persia; and solicits, through Artabanus, to be presented to the king. His interview with Artaxerxes; and kind reception. That prince

assigns him the revenue of three cities. Danger incurred in his travels. Artaxerxes prepares an armament against Athens: Themistocles, that he may not be constrained to serve against his country, destroys himself. His children, and his magnificent sepulchre at Magnesia.

THE family of Themistocles was too obscure, to have contributed to his distinction. He was the son of Neocles, an inferior citizen of Athens, of the ward of Phrear¹, and the tribe of Leontis. By his mother's side, he is said to have been illegitimate², according to the following verses :

Though born in Thrace, Abrotonon my name,
My son enrolls me in the lists of fame,
The great Themistocles.

Yet Phanias writes, that the mother of Themistocles was of Caria, not of Thrace, and that her name was not Abrotonon but Euterpe. Neanthes mentions Halicarnassus, as the city to which she belonged. Be that as it may, when all the illegitimate youth assembled at Cynosarges³, in the wrestling-ring dedicated to Hercules, without the gates (which was

¹ This ward was so named from it's situation on the sea-shore near the Piræus, where was a well (Gr. *Φρεαρ*) by the side of which any one, who prior to his transportation for homicide was charged with a fresh crime, underwent a new trial. (Pausan. i. 28.)*

² It was a law at Athens, that every child of a foreign woman should be deemed a bastard, though born in wedlock, and should consequently be incapable of inheriting his father's estate. (L.) They were also occasionally (as we shall see in the Life of Pericles, vol. II. p. 57.) excluded from the distributions made to the legitimate citizens.*

³ In this place, according to Pausan. i. 19., were altars consecrated to Hercules, his wife Hebe, his mother Alcmena, and the partner of most of his labours Iölaus. It's etymology is given by Suidas. The object of the separation, here mentioned, must have been to preserve the purity of manners and the dialect of the genuine youth from contamination.*

appointed for that purpose, because Hercules himself was not altogether of divine extraction, but partly spurious, as having had a mortal for his mother), Themistocles found means to persuade some of the young noblemen to go to Cynosarges, and take their exercise with him. This was an ingenious contrivance to destroy the distinction between the illegitimate or aliens, and the legitimate, whose parents were both Athenians. It is plain, however, that he was related to the house of the Lycomedæ⁴; for Simonides informs us, that when a chapel of that family in the ward of Phlya, where the Mysteries of Ceres used to be celebrated, was burned down by the barbarians, Themistocles rebuilt it, and adorned it with pictures.

It appears that, when a boy, he was full of spirit and fire, quick of apprehension, naturally inclined to bold attempts, and likely to make a great statesman. His hours of leisure and vacation he spent, not like other boys in idleness and play, but in inventing and composing declamations, the subjects of which were either the impeachment or the defence of some of his school-fellows: so that his master would often say, "Boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent; you will either be a blessing, or a curse to the community." As for moral philosophy and the polite arts, he learned them but slowly, and with little satisfaction; but instructions in political knowledge, and the administration of public affairs, he received with an attention above his years, because they suited his genius. When therefore long afterward he was ridiculed in a party, where free scope was given to raillery, by persons who were considered as more accomplished, he was obliged to answer them with some asperity: "'Tis

⁴ The Lycomedæ (so named from Lycus, the son of Pandion) were a family in Athens who, according to Pausanias, had the care of the sacrifices offered to Ceres; and in that chapel, which Theseus rebuilt, initiations and other mysteries were celebrated. (i. 22, iv. 1.) The ward Phlya was in the tribe Cecropis.

“ true I never learned how to tune a harp, or handle
 “ a lute ; but I know how to raise a small and in-
 “ considerable city to glory and greatness.”

By Stesimbrotus indeed we are told, that Themistocles studied natural philosophy, both under Anaxagoras and Melissus. But in this he errs against chronology. For when Pericles who was much younger than Themistocles, besieged Samos, Melissus defended it; and Anaxagoras lived with Pericles. Those seem to deserve more attention, that represent Themistocles as a follower of Mnesiphilus the Phrearian; who was neither orator, nor natural philosopher, but a professor of what was then called wisdom⁶, and consisted in a knowledge of the arts of government, and the practical part of political prudence. This was a sect formed upon the principles of Solon⁷, and descending in succession from him; but when the science of government came to be mixed with forensic arts, and passed from action to mere words, it's professors instead of ‘sages’ were called ‘sophists’⁸. Themistocles, however, was conversant in

⁵ Anaxagoras was born, Ol. lxx. 1.; Themistocles won the battle of Salamis, Ol. lxxv. 1.; and Melissus defended Samos against Pericles, Ol. lxxxiv. 4. Themistocles therefore could neither study under Anaxagoras, who was only twenty years old when that general gained the battle of Salamis, nor yet under Melissus, who did not begin to flourish till 35 years after that battle. (L.) Others, however, say that Anaxagoras flourished at the period above assigned for his birth; which would obviate Plutarch's objection, as far as he is concerned.*

⁶ The first sages were in reality great politicians, who gave rules and precepts for the government of communities. Thales was the first, who carried his speculations into physics.

⁷ During the space of about a hundred, or a hundred and twenty years.

⁸ The Sophists were rather rhetoricians, than philosophers; skilled in words, but superficial in knowledge, as Diogenes Laërtius informs us. Protagoras, who flourished about Ol. lxxxiv., a little before the birth of Plato, was the first who had the appellation of ‘Sophist.’ (Vid. Plat. Protag., and Diog. Laërt. ix. 52.) But Socrates, who was more conversant in morality than in politics, physics, or rhetoric, and who was desirous to improve the world rather in practice than in theory, modestly took the name of *Philosophos*, i. e. ‘a lover of wisdom,’ and not that of *Sophos*, i. e. ‘a wise man.’

public business, when he attended the lectures of Mnesiphilus.

In the first sallies of youth, he was irregular and unsteady; as he followed his own disposition, without any moral restraints. He lived in extremes, and those extremes were often of the worst-kind^o. This he afterward admitted, and excused by observing, that the wildest colts make the best horses, when they come to be properly broken and managed. The stories however, which some tell us, of his father's disinheriting him, and his mother's laying violent hands upon herself because she could not bear the thoughts of her son's infamy, seem to be quite fictitious. Others, on the contrary, say that his father, to dissuade him from accepting any public employment, showed him some old galleys which lay worn out and neglected on the sea-shore, just as the populace neglect their leaders, when they have no farther service for them.

Themistocles had an early and violent inclination for public business, and was so strongly smitten with the love of glory, and a desire of the highest station, that he involved himself in troublesome quarrels with persons of the first rank and influence in the state, particularly with Aristides the son of Lysimachus, by whom he was constantly opposed. Their enmity began early, but the cause (as Ariston, the philosopher, relates) was nothing more than their common regard for Stesileus of Teos. After this, their disputes continued about public affairs, and were naturally augmented by the dissimilarity of their lives and manners. Aristides was of a mild temper, and of the utmost probity. He managed the concerns of government with inflexible justice,

^o Idomeneus says, that one morning Themistocles harnessed four naked courtesans in a chariot, and made them draw him across the Ceramicus in the sight of all the people there assembled; and that, at a time when the Athenians were perfect strangers to debauchery, both in wine and women. But, if that vice was then so little known in Athens, how could there be found four prostitutes impudent enough to consent to such an exposure?

not with a view to ingratiate himself with the people, or to promote his own reputation, but solely for the advantage and safety of the state. He was therefore necessarily obliged to oppose Themistocles, and to prevent his promotion, because he frequently urged the people to unwarrantable enterprises, and was ambitious of introducing great innovations. Themistocles indeed was so hurried away with the lust of glory, and so immoderately anxious to distinguish himself by some brilliant action, that though he was very young when the battle of Marathon was fought, and when the generalship of Miltiades was every where extolled; he was even then observed to remain much alone, to be very pensive, to watch whole nights, and not to attend the usual entertainments: and when he was asked the reason by his friends, who wondered at the change, he said, "The trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep*." While others imagined the defeat of the Persians at Marathon had put an end to the war, he considered it as the beginning of greater conflicts¹⁰; and, for the benefit of Greece, he was always preparing himself and the Athenians against them, because he foresaw them at a distance¹¹.

And in the first place, whereas the Athenians had used to share the revenue of the silver-mines of Laurium¹² among themselves, he alone had the courage to make a motion to the people, that instead

* To this reference is made, as illustrative of Theseus' feelings with regard to the glory of Hercules, p. 9.*

¹⁰ He did not question but Darius would at length perceive, that the only way to deal with the Greeks was to attack them vigorously by sea, where they could make the least opposition.

¹¹ The two principal qualifications of a general are a quick and comprehensive view of what is to be done upon any urgent emergency, and a happy foresight of what is to come: both these qualifications Themistocles possessed. With respect to the latter, Thucydides gives him this elogium, ἐπὶ πλείστον τὸ γενναίωματις ἀριστὸς εἰκάζει. (L.) How correctly true of the immortal Fox!*

¹² A mountain in the south-eastern part of Attica, near Cape Sunium. These mines were exhausted in the time of Pausanias, i. 1.*

of that division, they should build with the produce a number of galleys to be employed in the war against the Æginetæ, who then made a considerable figure in Greece, and by means of their numerous navy were masters of the sea¹³. By seasonably stirring up the resentment and emulation of his countrymen against these islanders¹⁴, he the more easily prevailed upon them to provide themselves with ships, than if he had displayed the terrors of Darius and the Persians, who were at a greater distance, and of whose coming they had but slight apprehensions. With this money a hundred galleys, of three banks of oars, were built, which afterward fought against Xerxes. From this step he proceeded to others, in order to draw the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs; and to convince them that, though by land they were not able to cope with their neighbours, yet with a naval force they might not only repel the barbarians, but hold all Greece in subjection. Thus of good land-forces, as Plato¹⁵ says, he made them mariners and seamen, and brought upon himself the aspersion of having taken from his countrymen the spear and the shield,

¹³ This island, from it's situation, was pronounced by Pericles 'a speck in the eye of the Piræus.' In the Persian war it furnished, next to Athens, the most considerable quota of vessels. (Pausan. ii. 29.)*

¹⁴ Plutarch in this place follows Herodotus, vii. 144. But Thucydides i. 14. expressly states, that Themistocles availed himself of both these arguments, the apprehensions which the Athenians entertained of the return of the Persians, and the war against the Æginetæ. He could not indeed well neglect so powerful an argument as the former, since (according to Plato) accounts were daily brought of the formidable preparations of Darius; and, upon his death, it appeared that Xerxes inherited all his father's rancour against the Greeks.

¹⁵ De Legg. iv., in the beginning, where he enters at large into a comparison of the effects of their naval and military victories upon the Athenians. Aristotle (vii. 7.) inquires, whether or not a marine be useful for civilised states; and, with a caution against the corruption too often introduced by foreign commerce, decides in the affirmative. From this passage it appears for *ναυπηγας*, in Plato, we should read *πολεμικας*.*

and sent them to the bench and the oar. Stesimbrotus writes, that Themistocles carried these measures into effect, in spite of the opposition of Miltiades. Whether or not by this proceeding he corrupted the purity and simplicity of the Athenian constitution, is a speculation too philosophical to be here pursued. But that the Greeks owed their safety to his naval preparations, and that those ships re-established the city of Athens after it had been destroyed (to omit other proofs) Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness. For, after his defeat at sea, he was no longer able to make head against the Athenians, though his land-forces remained entire; and in my opinion he left Mardonius rather to prevent a pursuit, than with any hope of his subjugating Greece.

Some authors state, that Themistocles was intent upon the acquisition of money¹⁶, with a view to spend it profusely; and indeed for his frequent sacrifices, and the splendid manner in which he entertained strangers, he required a large supply. Others on the contrary, accuse him of meanness and attention to trifles, and say that he even sold presents, which had been made him for his table. Nay, when he begged a colt of Philides (a breeder of horses) and was refused, he threatened that he would soon make a Trojan horse of his house; enigmatically hinting, that he would raise up troubles and impeachments against him from some of his own family.

In ambition, however, he had no equal. For when he was yet young, and but little known, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a performer on the lyre much valued by the Athenians, to practise at his house; hoping thus to draw thither a

¹⁶ Herodotus (viii. 112.) represents Themistocles as insatiably covetous: he probably, however, amassed wealth chiefly with a view of indulging his ambition, by purchasing the attachment of a great number of partisans, or of gratifying his taste for magnificence.*

number of people. And when he went to the Olympic games, he endeavoured to rival Cimou in the elegance of his table, the splendour of his pavilions, and the other expenses of his train. These things were not agreeable to the Greeks. They looked upon them as suitable to a young man of a noble family; but, when an obscure person set himself up so much above his fortune, he gained nothing by it but the imputation of vanity. He exhibited a tragedy¹⁷ also at his own cost, and gained the prize with his tragedians, at a time when those entertainments were pursued with great emulation and avidity. In memory of his success, he put up this inscription; "Themistocles the Phrearian exhibited the tragedy, Phrynichus composed it¹⁸, Adimantus presided." This gained him popularity; and what added to it was, his charging his memory with the names of the citizens, so that he readily called each by his own. He was an impartial judge likewise in the causes, which were brought before him; and Simonides of Ceos¹⁹ making an unreasonable request to him when Archon²⁰, he answered, "As

¹⁷ Tragedy was at this time just arrived at perfection; and so great a passion had the Athenians for it, that the principal persons in the commonwealth could not oblige them more, than by exhibiting the best tragedy with the most elegant decorations. Public prizes were appointed for those, who excelled in this respect.

¹⁸ Phrynichus was the disciple of Thespis, who was esteemed the inventor of tragedy. He was the first, that brought female actors upon the stage. His chief plays were Actæon, Alcestitis, and the Danaïdes. Æschylus was his contemporary.

¹⁹ Simonides celebrated the battles of Marathon and Salamis in his poems, and was the author of several odes and elegies, some of which are still extant and well known. He was a great favourite of Pausanias king of Sparta, and of Hiero king of Sicily. Plato had so high an opinion of his merit, that he gave him the epithet of 'divine.' He died Ol. lxxviii. 1., at almost ninety years of age; so that he was nearly fourscore, when he described the battle of Salamis.

²⁰ The former translator renders *αὐτὸς στρατηγός*, 'when he was commander of the army,' which is indeed the sense of it a little below, but not here. Plutarch uses the word *στρατὴν* for 'prætor,' which is almost synonymous with Archon. And in this passage he so explains it himself, 'Nor I a good magistrate' (*ἀρχὴν*). (L.)

“ you would be a bad poet, if you transgressed the
 “ rules of harmony ; so should I be a bad magistrate,
 “ if I granted your petition contrary to law.”
 Another time he rallied Simonides for “ his ab-
 “ surdity in abusing the Corinthians, who inhabited
 “ so elegant a city, and getting his own picture
 “ drawn, when he had so ill-favoured an aspect.”

At length, having acquired great power and popularity, his faction prevailed, and he procured the banishment of Aristides by what is called the Ostracism²¹.

The Medes now preparing again to invade Greece, the Athenians considered who should be their general ; and many (we are told) thinking the commission dangerous, declined it. But Epicydes the son of Euphemides, a man of more eloquence than courage, and capable withal of being bribed, solicited it, and was likely to be chosen. Themistocles however, fearing the consequence would be fatal to the public, if the choice fell upon Epicydes, prevailed upon him by pecuniary considerations to drop his pretensions.

This however, it should be added, could not be the chief Archonship ; as he was then too young for that responsible dignity, is above pronounced ‘ an obscure person,’ and appears both from Thucyd. i. 93., and Herod. vii. 143., to have first attained that distinguished situation several years afterward.*

²¹ It is not certain, by whom the Ostracism was introduced : some say, by Pisistratus, or rather by his sons ; others, after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ ; while others make it as ancient as the time of Theseus. By this, men who became powerful to such a degree as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten (or, according to Diod. Sic. xi. 55., for five) years ; and they were to quit the Athenian territories in ten days. The method was as follows ; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or shell (Gr. *οσρακον*), upon which he wrote the name of the person, whom he wished to have banished. This done, the magistrates counted the shells, and if they amounted to 6000, sorted them : and the man, whose name was found on the greatest number of shells, was exiled for ten years. (L.) Ostracism was likewise in use in the cities of Argos, Miletus, Megara, &c. It differed from banishment, as being temporary, assigning a fixed residence, sparing the property of the sufferer, generally inflicted in a moment of rashness and jealousy, and never in it's consequences involving disgrace.*

His behaviour is also commended with respect to the interpreter, who came with the king of Persia's ambassadors, that were sent to demand earth and water²². By a decree of the people he put him to death, for having presumed to make use of the Greek language to express the demands of barbarians. To this we may add his proceedings in the affair of Arthmius the Zelite²³; who upon his suggestion was declared 'infamous,' with his children and all his posterity, for having introduced Persian gold into Greece. But what redounded most of all to his honour, was his putting an end to the Grecian wars, reconciling the several states to each other, and persuading them to lay aside their animosities during the Persian war. In this, he is said to have been much assisted by Chileus²⁴ the Arcadian.

As soon as he had taken upon himself the command, he endeavoured to persuade the people to quit the city, to embark on board their ships, and to meet the barbarians at as great a distance as possible from Greece. But many opposing it, he marched at the head of a considerable army along with the Lacedæmonians to Tempe, intending to cover Thessaly, which had not as yet declared for the Persians. Upon his returning however without having effected any thing, the Thessalians having

²² This was a demand of absolute and unconditional submission. But Herodotus (vii. 32.) assures us, that Xerxes did not send such an embassy to the Athenians or the Lacedæmonians. The ambassadors of his father Darius were treated with great indignity, when they made that demand; for the Athenians threw them into the ditch, into which they precipitated their capital convicts, and told them, 'There was earth and water enough.' (Id. ib. 133.)

²³ Arthmius was of Zele, a town in Asia Minor between Cappadocia and the Euxine sea, but resident for some time at Athens. He was not only declared 'infamous' for 'having introduced Persian gold,' and endeavoured to corrupt with it some of the principal Athenians, but banished by sound of trumpet. See Æschin. adv. Ctesiph. Demosthenes likewise mentions him, Philipp. iv.

²⁴ Who exerted his interest with the Lacedæmonians, to convince them that they ought to send assistance to the Athenians against Mardonius, and succeeded.*

embraced the king's party, and all the country as far as Bœotia having followed their example, the Athenians were more willing to hearken to his proposal to fight the enemy at sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artemisium²⁵.

When the majority of the combined fleets were of opinion, that Eurybiades should have the chief command, and with his Lacedæmonians begin the engagement; the Athenians, who had a greater number of ships than all the rest united²⁶, thought it an indignity to part with the place of honour. But Themistocles, perceiving the danger of any disagreement at that moment, gave up the command to Eurybiades; and satisfied the Athenians by representing to them that, if they behaved like men in that war, the Grecians would voluntarily yield to them the superiority for the future. To him therefore Greece seems to have owed her preservation, and the Athenians in particular the distinguished glory of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in moderation.

The Persian fleet coming up to Aphetæ²⁷, Eurybiades was astonished at such an appearance of ships; particularly when he was informed, that there were two hundred more sailing round Sciathus. He was therefore desirous, without loss of time, to draw

²⁵ At the same time that the Greeks thought of defending the pass of Thermopylæ by land, they sent a fleet to prevent the passage of the Persian navy through the straits of Eubœa (*hod. Negropont*), which fleet rendezvoused at Artemisium, one of the promontories of that island. Herodotus relates this story, vii. 173.

²⁶ Herodotus informs us, viii. 1., that the Athenians furnished 127 vessels, which were afterward reinforced by 53 more (*ib.* 14.), and that the whole complement of the rest of the Greeks amounted only to 91; of which number likewise twenty more belonged to the Athenians, who had lent them to the Chalcidians.

²⁷ Aphetæ, situated in the gulf of Magnesia, was so called (according to Strabo. ix.) because the Argonauts took thence their first departure in quest of the Golden Fleece; or rather (if we may trust Herod. vii. 193.) because from this place, having watered, they set sail, leaving Hercules behind. Propertius (l. xx. 17.) represents them as originally embarking at Pagasæ. For the particulars of the Persian project, see Herod. viii. 7.*

nearer to Greece, and to keep close to the Peloponnesian coast, where he might have an army occasionally to assist the fleet; for he considered the naval force of the Persians as invincible. Upon this the Eubœans, apprehending that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to negotiate privately with Themistocles, and to offer him a large sum of money. He took the money, and gave it (as Herodotus writes) to Eurybiades²⁸. Finding himself most opposed in his designs by Architeles, captain of the Sacred Galley²⁹, who had not money to pay his men, and therefore intended immediately to withdraw; he so incensed his countrymen against him, that they went in a tumultuous manner on board his ship, and took from him what he had provided for his supper. Architeles being much provoked at this insult, Themistocles sent him in a chest a quantity of provisions, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver; desiring him to refresh himself that evening, and to satisfy his crew in the morning: otherwise, he would accuse him to the Athenians of having received a bribe from the enemy. This particular is mentioned by Phantias the Lesbian.

Though the several engagements³⁰ with the Per-

²⁸ According to Herodotus (viii. 5.) the affair was as follows: the Eubœans, not being able to persuade Eurybiades to remain on their coast till they could carry off their wives and children, addressed themselves to Themistocles, and made him a present of thirty talents. He took the money, and with five talents bribed Eurybiades. Then Adiamanthus the Corinthian being the only commander who insisted on weighing anchor, Themistocles went on board him, and told him in few words; ‘Adiamanthus, you shall not abandon us, for I will give you more for doing your duty, than the king of the Medes would give you for betraying it.’ Which he performed, by sending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the Eubœans requested, and saved twenty-two talents for himself.

²⁹ The Sacred Galley was that, which the Athenians sent every year to Delos with sacrifices to Apollo; and (as they pretended) the same, in which Theseus carried the tribute to Crete. See the Life of Theseus, Vol. I. p. 26.

³⁰ They came to three several engagements within three days; in the last of which Clinias, the father of Alcibiades, performed

sian fleet in the straits of Eubœa were not decisive, yet were they of great advantage to the Greeks, who learned by experience that neither the number of ships, nor the beauty and splendour of their ornaments, nor the vaunting shouts and songs of the barbarians have any thing dreadful in them to men, who know how to fight hand to hand, and are determined to behave gallantly. These things they were taught to despise, when they came to close action, and grappled with the foe. In this case Pindar's sentiments appear just, when he says of the fight at Artemisium;

'Twas then, that Athens the foundations laid
Of Liberty's fair structure.

Intrepid courage, indeed, is the commencement of victory.

Artemisium is a maritime place of Eubœa, to the north of Hestiaea³¹. Opposite to it lies Olizon, in the territory which was formerly subject to Philoctetes; where there is a small temple of Diana of the East, in the midst of a grove. This temple is encircled with pillars of white stone, which when rubbed with the hand, has both the colour and the smell of saffron. Upon one of the pillars are inscribed the following verses:

When on these seas the Athenian might subdued
The Asian hosts, in pious gratitude
Here they to Dian rear'd the fane.

Upon this shore there is a place still to be seen, containing a large heap of sand which, if dug into, exhibits toward the bottom a black dust like ashes, as if some fire had been there; supposed to have been

wonders. He had, at his own expense, fitted out a ship, which carried two hundred men.

³¹ Hestiaea, a maritime city in Eubœa; Olizon, a city in Thessaly. Plutarch here alludes to Homer's *Ολιζωνία τρηχίαν* (Il. ii. 717.) as supplying part of Philoctetes' troops at the siege of Troy.*

that, in which the wrecks of the ships and the bodies of the dead were burned.

The news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium³², when the confederates were informed that Leonidas was slain, and Xerxes master of the pass by land, they returned to Greece; and the Athenians, elated with their late distinguished valour, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbours or places proper for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find or caused to be brought thither for that purpose, and set them up in the ports and watering-places, with the following inscription engraved in large characters and addressed to the Ionians³³: "Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the Greeks from whom they are descended, and who now risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and throw them into disorder in the time of action." By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to sow discord among them, by exciting suspicion against them in the minds of the Persians.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocian cities, yet the Greeks³⁴ sent them no assistance. And, notwithstanding all the entreaties which the

³² The last engagement at Thermopylæ, in which Xerxes forced the passes of the mountains by the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, Thespians, and Thebans, happened on the same day with the battle at Artemisium; and the intelligence of it was brought to Themistocles by an Athenian, called Abronchus. Though the action at Thermopylæ had no immediate relation to Themistocles, it would have tended more to the glory of that general, if Plutarch had taken more notice of it; since the advantage gained there by Xerxes opened Greece to him, and rendered him much more formidable. Thermopylæ is well known to be a narrow pass in the mountains, near the Euripus.

³³ A colony from Attica, settled in Asia Minor. Herodotus, viii. 22, gives the inscription at full length, of which Plutarch has only preserved an abridgement.*

³⁴ Of Achæia, and Peloponnesus. The Dorians had sided with Xerxes. See Herodot. viii. 40.*

Athenians could use, to prevail upon the confederates to repair with them into Bœotia and cover the frontiers of Attica, as they themselves had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one listened to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the Isthmus, and to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and at the same time dejected and discouraged by so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To quit the city, and embark on board their ships, was the only expedient remaining; and to this the generality were very unwilling to hearken, as they could neither have any great anticipation of victory, nor idea of safety, when they had left the temples of their gods and the monuments of their ancestors.

Themistocles, perceiving that he could not by the force of human reason prevail with the multitude³⁵, set his machinery³⁶ to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy, of which he availed himself was, the disappearing of the dragon of Minerva³⁷, which at that time quitted the holy place; and the priests finding the daily offerings set before it untouched announced to the people, on the suggestion

³⁵ He prevailed so effectually at last, that the Athenians stoned Cyrsilus, an orator who vehemently opposed him with all the common topics, of love to the place of one's birth, and the affection due to wives and helpless infants. The women too, in order to show how far they were from desiring that the cause of Greece should suffer upon their account, stoned his wife. (Demosth. πρὸς Στεφ.)

³⁶ To this kind of machinery Horace alludes:

*Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.*—

(A. P. 191.)*

³⁷ This dragon, according to Herod. viii. 41., was the guardian of the citadel, where it was supported by monthly offerings of cakes of honey. The same historian also, with more probability, ascribes the report mentioned below to the priestess of Minerva.*

of Themistocles, that the goddess had forsaken the city, and offered to conduct them to sea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received³⁸, he told them that by 'wooden walls' there could not possibly be any thing meant but ships; and that Apollo, now called Salamis 'divine,' not (as formerly) 'wretched and unfortunate,' signified by such an epithet, that it would be productive of some great advantage to Greece. His counsels prevailed, and he proposed a decree that the city should be left to the protection of Minerva³⁹, the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that the young men should go on board the ships; and that every one should provide as well as he possibly could for the safety of the children, the women, and the slaves.

When this decree was made, most of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Trœzene⁴⁰, where they were received with a generous hospitality. The Trœzenians came to a resolution to

³⁸ This was the second oracle, which the Athenian deputies received from Aristonice, priestess of Apollo. [The first, with greater severity, had enjoined them to abandon their citadel, and had announced the total destruction of their city. Both however, from their according so well with the system of Themistocles, had been obviously suggested by him to the Pythoness.*] Many were of opinion, that by the 'wooden walls,' to which she advised them to have recourse, was meant the citadel, because it was palisaded; while others thought, it could signify nothing but ships. The advocates of the former opinion urged, against such as supported the latter, that the last line but one of the oracle,

Ω θεη Σαλαμις, απολεις δε συ τεκνα γυναικων,

without question portended the destruction of the Athenian fleet near Salamis. Themistocles alleged in answer that, if the oracle had intended to foretel the destruction of the Athenians, it would not have called it 'the divine,' but 'the unhappy' Salamis; and that by 'the sons of women' could be meant no other than the Persians, who were scandalously effeminate. (Herod vii. 143. 144.)

³⁹ How was this, when he had before told the people, that Minerva had forsaken the city!

⁴⁰ Theseus, the great hero in Athenian story, was originally of this place. (L.) Others sent their families to Ægina and Salamis.⁴

maintain them at the public expense, for which purpose they allowed each of them two oboli a day: they permitted the children likewise to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and provided for their education by paying their tutors⁴¹. This order was procured by Nicagoras.

As the treasury of Athens was then empty, Aristotle informs us that the court of Areopagus distributed to every man, who took part in the expedition, eight drachmas; which was the principal means of manning the fleet. But this also is ascribed to a stratagem of Themistocles by Clidemus, who tells us that, when the Athenians went down to the harbour of Piræus, the *Ægis* was lost from the statue of Minerva; and Themistocles, as he ransacked every thing under pretence of searching for it, found large sums of money hidden among the baggage, which he applied to the public use, providing out of it all necessaries for the fleet⁴².

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity, what admiration of the firmness of those men, who sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries and tears and embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress, was the number of citizens whom, on account of their extreme old age⁴³, they were forced to leave behind. And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which running to the shore, with lamentable howlings expressed their affection and regret for the persons by whom they had been fed. One of these, a dog belonging to Xanthippus

⁴¹ This, at a period of so much trouble, proves the value which the Greeks set upon education.*

⁴² As Herodotus however, amidst all his details, does not mention this circumstance, and Clidemus is an historian little known, the first is perhaps the more accurate account.*

⁴³ Many citizens also, from their religious attachment to Athens, chose to remain behind.* In this description, we find strong traces of Plutarch's humanity and good-nature.

the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leaped into the sea, and to have swam by the side of the ship till it reached Salamis, where quite spent with toil it immediately died. And they show to this day a place called 'Cynos-sema,' where they tell us it was buried.

To these illustrious actions of Themistocles may be added the following. Perceiving that Aristides (who had been banished, through his machinations, before the war) was much regretted by the people, who were apprehensive that out of revenge he might join the Persians, and do great prejudice to the cause of Greece; he caused a decree to be made, that all who had been banished only for a fixed time should have leave to return, and by their counsel and valour assist their fellow-citizens in the preservation of their country.

Eurybiades, on account of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet; but, as he was apprehensive of the danger⁴⁴, he proposed to set sail for the Isthmus, and fix his station near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocles, however, opposed it; and the account which we have of the conference upon that occasion, deserves to be recorded. When Eurybiades said⁴⁵, "Don't you know, Themistocles, that in the public games such as rise up before their turn, are chastised for it?" "Yes," answered Themistocles; "yet those, who are left

⁴⁴ It does not appear, that Eurybiades wanted courage. After Xerxes had gained the pass of Thermopylæ, it was the general opinion of the chief officers of the confederate fleet (with the exception of those of Athens) assembled in council, that their only resource was to build a strong wall across the Isthmus, and to defend Peloponnesus against the Persians. The Lacedæmonians likewise (as we learn below) who were impartial judges of men and things, gave the palm of valour to Eurybiades, and that of prudence to Themistocles; and twice appointed the former, though not of the blood-royal, to the command of their fleet.

⁴⁵ This conversation, according to Herodotus (viii. 59.), passed between Adiamanthus general of the Corinthians and Themistocles; but Plutarch relates it with more probability of Eurybiades, who was commander-in-chief.

“ behind, never gain the crown.” Eurybiades upon this lifting up his staff, as if he intended to strike him, Themistocles said, “ Strike, but hear me.” The Lacedæmonian, admiring his command of temper, bade him speak what he had to say : and Themistocles was leading him back to the subject, when one of the officers thus interrupted him ; “ It
 “ ill becomes you, who have no city, to advise us
 “ to quit our habitations, and abandon our country.” Upon which Themistocles retorted ; “ Wretch that
 “ thou art, we have indeed left our walls and houses,
 “ not choosing for the sake of those inanimate
 “ things to become slaves; yet we have still the
 “ most respectable city of Greece in these two
 “ hundred ships, which are here ready to defend
 “ you, if you will give them leave. But, if you
 “ betray us a second time, Greece shall soon find
 “ the Athenians possessed of as free a city⁴⁶, and
 “ as valuable a country as that which they have
 “ quitted.” These words struck Eurybiades with the apprehension, that the Athenians might fall off from him. We are told also that, as a certain Eretrian was attempting to speak, Themistocles exclaimed, “ What! have you too something to say
 “ about war, who are like the fish that has a sword,
 “ but no heart⁴⁷?”

While Themistocles was thus maintaining his argument upon deck, an owl (as some tell us) was seen flying to the right of the fleet⁴⁸, which came

⁴⁶ The address of Themistocles is much to be admired. If Eurybiades was really induced by his fears to return to the Isthmus, the Athenian took a right method to remove those fears by suggesting greater : for what else could he intimate, except that when driven from their own city, in their distress and despair, the Athenians might seize the state of Sparta? For a different account of this speech, however, see Herodot. viii. 62.

⁴⁷ Gr. *Τελευσις*. This observation, whatever be the fish alluded to, is probably founded on a mistake. Comparative anatomy, and indeed anatomy of all kinds, was little understood by the ancients.*

⁴⁸ The owl was sacred to Minerva, the protectress of Athens, and is found upon almost all the Attic medals extant.

and perched upon the shrouds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a sea-fight. But no sooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing toward the harbour of Phalerus in Attica, and covering all the neighbouring coasts, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his land-forces to the shore, than the Greeks struck with the sight of such prodigious armaments began to forget the counsel of Themistocles, and the Peloponnesians once more looked toward the Isthmus. Nay, they resolved to set sail that very night, and orders to that effect were issued to all the pilots. Themistocles, deeply concerned that the Greeks were about to abandon the advantage of their station in the straits⁴⁹, and to retire to their respective countries, contrived the stratagem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Persian extraction⁵⁰ and a captive, but much attached to Themistocles, and the tutor of his children. Upon this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to the king of Persia, with orders to inform him that the commander of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, was the first to apprise him of the intended flight of the Greeks; and exhorted him not to suffer them to escape, but while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land-forces, to attack and destroy their whole navy.

Xerxes received this information kindly, supposing it to proceed from friendship; and imme-

⁴⁹ If the confederates had quitted the straits of Salamis, where they could equal the Persians in the line of battle, such of the Athenians as were in that island must have become an easy prey to the enemy; and the Persians would have found an open sea upon the Peloponnesian coast, where they could act with all their force against the ships of the allies.

⁵⁰ Eschylus, who was in this action, speaking of Sicinus says, 'A certain Greek from the army of the Athenians told Xerxes,' &c. (L.). It is not at all likely, indeed, that Themistocles would have entrusted the care of his children to a foreigner. Herodotus, who calls him Sicinnus, says (most probably, by mistake) that he addressed himself to all the Persian generals. (viii. 75.)*

diately gave orders to his officers, with two hundred ships, to surround all the passages and enclose the islands, that none of the Greeks might escape, and then to follow with the rest of the ships at their leisure. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, was the first who perceived this motion of the enemy; and though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, but (as it has been related) had been banished by his means, he went to him, and told him they were surrounded by the enemy⁵¹. Themistocles knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this information, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and entreated him to lend his assistance to keep the Greeks in their station; and, as they had a confidence in his honour, to persuade them to come to an engagement in the straits. Aristides approved Themistocles' proceedings, and going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage. While they scarcely gave credit to his report, a Tenian⁵² galley commanded by Panætius came over from the enemy to bring the same account; so that indignation, added to necessity, excited the Greeks to the combat⁵³.

⁵¹ Aristides was not then in the confederate fleet, but in the island of Ægina; whither he had retired upon his banishment from Athens, and whence he sailed by night with great hazard through the Persian fleet, to carry this intelligence. (Herod. viii. 79.)

⁵² Tenos was a small island in the Ægean sea, in the group named the Cyclades. In grateful memory of this event, the name of the Tenians was engraved on the tripod consecrated at Delphi, among those of the other vanquishers of Xerxes. See Herodot. viii. 82., who had been indefatigable in his historic researches.*

⁵³ The different conduct of the Spartans and the Athenians upon this occasion seems to show, how much superior the accommodating laws of Solon were to the austere discipline of Lycurgus. While the institutions of the latter indeed remained in force, the Lacedæmonians were the greatest of all people. But their continuance was impossible. The severity of Lycurgus' legislation naturally tended to destroy it. Nor was this all. From the extreme of abstemious hardship the next step was, not to a moderate enjoyment of life, but to all the licentiousness of the most effeminate luxury. The laws of Lycurgus made men of the women: when they were broken, they made women of the men.

As soon as it was day, Xerxes sat down on an eminence to view the fleet and it's order of battle. He placed himself, as Phanodemus writes, above the temple of Hercules, where the isle of Salamis is separated from Attica by a narrow frith; but according to Accestodorus on the confines of Megara, upon a spot called Kerata, or 'the horns.' He was seated upon a throne of gold⁵⁴, and had many secretaries about him, whose business it was to write down the particulars of the action.

In the mean time, as Themistocles was sacrificing on the deck of the admiral-galley, three captives were brought to him of uncommon beauty, elegantly attired and set off with golden ornaments. They were said to be the sons of Autarctus and Sandace, sister to Xerxes. Euphrantides the soothsayer casting his eye upon them, and at the same time observing that a bright flame blazed out from the victims⁵⁵, while a sneezing was heard to the right, took Themistocles by the hand, and ordered that the three youths should be consecrated and sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes⁵⁶; for thus the Greeks might be assured, not only of safety, but of victory.

⁵⁴ This throne or seat, whether of gold or silver or both, was taken and carried to Athens, where it was consecrated in the temple of Minerva, with the golden sabre of Mardonius, which was taken afterward in the battle of Plataeæ. Demosthenes calls it *διφρον αργυροποδι*, 'a chair with silver feet.' See Olynth. iii., and Harpocration voc. *αργυροποι*.

⁵⁵ A bright flame was always considered as a fortunate omen, whether it were a real one issuing from an altar, or a seeming one (what we call 'shell-fire') from the head of a living person. Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 682., mentions one of the latter sort, which appeared about the head of Iulus; and Florus another, that was seen upon the head of Servius Tullius. A sneezing to the right likewise was deemed a lucky omen, both by the Greeks and Latins. (L.) (See Aristot. *de Anim.* i. 11.) Homer, in *Odys.* xvii. 545., introduces it as a fortunate omen, without any reference to right or left;

—επεπῆλκε πασιν επεσσιν.

To advert to modern superstition, Strada in his *Prolus. Acad.* iii. 4. has a learned dissertation entitled 'Pictor Suburranus, sive *πρό-βλημα Cur sternuentes salutentur.*'*

⁵⁶ In the same manner Chios, Tenedos, and Lesbos offered hu-

Themistocles was astonished at the strangeness and cruelty of the order; but the multitude, who in great and pressing difficulties trust rather to absurd than rational methods, invoked the god with one voice; and leading the captives to the altar, insisted upon their being offered, as the soothsayer had directed. This particular we have from Phanias the Lesbian, a man not unversed in letters and philosophy.

As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Æschylus speaks of it, in his tragedy entitled *Persæ*⁷, as a matter of which he was well assured :

A thousand ships (for well their sum I know)
At Persia's bidding arm'd their haughty prow :
Two hundred more and seven the seas o'erspread.

The Athenians had only one hundred and eighty galleys; each carried eighteen men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy-armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was not less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it; for he would not engage the enemy, till that hour of the day when a brisk wind usually rises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which were low-built and well-compacted; but a very considerable one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy: for it caused them to veer in such a manner, that their sides were exposed to the Greeks, who attacked them furiously. During the whole dispute, great attention was given

man sacrifices to Bacchus, surnamed *Omodius*. But this is the sole instance on record among the Athenians; (L.) and even this is not recorded by Herodotus. Pausan. ix. 8. has a story, relative to a temporary offering of human sacrifices in Bœotia. In another respect, however, Bacchus is entitled to this epithet: as it was usual at Aleva in Arcadia to whip women with rods at his altar.*

⁷ V. 341. See not. (50).*

to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed that he knew best how to proceed. Against him Ariamenes⁵⁸ the Persian admiral, a man of distinguished honour, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, chiefly directed his manœuvres. His ship was very tall, and thence he threw darts and shot forth arrows, as from the walls of a castle. But Aminias the Decelean and Sosicles the Pædian, who sailed in the same vessel, bore down upon him with their prow, and both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of their brassen beaks; when Ariamenes boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes, and pushed him into the sea. Artemisia⁵⁹ knew the body among others, which were floating with the wreck, and had it conveyed to Xerxes.

While the fight was thus raging, we are told a great light appeared as from Eleusis; and loud sounds and voices were heard through all the plain of Thriasia to the sea, as of an immense number of people carrying the mystic symbols of Bacchus in procession⁶⁰. A cloud likewise seemed to rise from

⁵⁸ He is differently named by Herodotus (vii. 2., viii. 89.) who, however, says nothing about the manner of his death.

Aminias, mentioned below, is said by Died. Sic. (xi. 27.) to have been the brother of Æschylus.*

⁵⁹ Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, distinguished herself above all the rest of the Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled; which Xerxes observing cried out, that 'the men behaved like women, and the women like men.' The Athenians were so incensed against her, as a woman and a heroine, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one, who should take her alive. [And Herodotus (viii. 94.) has preserved an account of her very narrow escape, and the stratagem by which it was effected. See also Polyæn. Stratag. viii. 53., which gives farther probability to the story.†] This princess must not be confounded with that Artemisia, who was the wife of Mausolus king of Caria, and lived at a much later period.

⁶⁰ These voices, according to Herodotus, viii. 65. (who, however, does not mention the 'great light') were heard some days before the battle, while the Persian land-forces were ravaging the territories of Attica. Dicaeus, an Athenian exile (who hoped thereby to procure a mitigation of his country's fate) was the first who observed the thing, and carried an account of it to Xerxes. (L.)

among the crowd that made this noise, and to ascend by degrees, till it fell upon the galleys. Other phantoms also and apparitions of armed men the Greeks saw, in imagination at least, stretching out their hands from Ægina in the van of their fleet. These they conjectured to be the Æacidæ⁶¹, to whom before the battle they had addressed their prayers for succour.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian named Lycomedes, captain of a vessel, who cut down the ensigns⁶² from the enemy's vessel, and consecrated them to 'the Laurelled Apollo.' As the Persians could advance in the straits but few at a time, and often threw each other into confusion, the Greeks equalling them in the line fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely and gained that signal and complete victory, which was never exceeded in glory (as Simonides says) by any other naval achievement either of the Greeks or of the barbarians. This success was owing to the valour, indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles⁶³.

After the battle Xerxes, full of indignation at his disappointment, attempted to join Salamis to the continent by a mole so well secured, that his land-forces might pass over it into the island, and that he

He affirmed, that he heard the hymn called Iacchus, and recited in honour of Bacchus during the procession from Ceramicus to Eleusis.*

⁶¹ A vessel had been sent to Ægina, to implore the assistance of Æacus and his descendents. (Herod. viii. 64.) Æacus was the son of Jupiter, and had been king of Ægina. He was so remarkable for his justice, that his prayers are said to have procured considerable advantages to the Greeks, particularly in a great drought, with which Greece had been afflicted (Pausan. ii. 29.); and, after his death, it was believed that he was appointed one of the three judges in the infernal regions.

⁶² These were the figures, &c. usually attached to the prows of vessels, for the sake both of ornament and of distinction.*

⁶³ In this battle, which was one of the most memorable in ancient history, the Grecians lost forty ships and the Persians two hundred, beside a great many more that were taken.

might shut up the pass entirely against the Greeks⁶⁴. At the same time Themistocles, in order to sound Aristides, pretended it was his own opinion that they should sail to the Hellespont, and break down the bridge of ships; "For so," said he, "we may take Asia without stirring out of Europe." Aristides⁶⁵ not in the least relishing his proposal, replied; "Till now, we have had to do with an enemy immersed in luxury: but if we shut him up in Greece, and drive him to necessity, he who is master of such prodigious forces will no longer sit under a golden canopy, and be a quiet spectator of the proceedings of the war; but awakened by danger, attempting every thing and present every where, will correct his past errors, and follow counsels better calculated for success. Instead therefore of breaking down that bridge, we should if possible provide another, that he may retire the sooner out of Europe." "If that be the case," said Themistocles, "we must all consider and contrive, how to urge him to the most speedy retreat out of Greece."

This being determined, he sent one of the king's eunuchs whom he found among the prisoners⁶⁶, Ar-

⁶⁴ But, according to Herod. (viii. 97.) Xerxes meant only to delude the Greeks into a notion, that he intended to try the fortune of another sea-fight, lest they 'should sail to the Hellespont, and break down his bridge of ships.' This was constructed, during that prince's residence at Sardis, by Phœnician and Egyptian workmen, who fastened the vessels together with cables of hemp and bark. The width of the strait was about a mile. A violent tempest destroyed the effect of their labours, before they were fully completed. The rage of Xerxes, and his ordering the sea to be scourged for its misconduct, are well-known tales. A second effort was more successful. See Herodot. vii. 33—36.*

⁶⁵ According to the more probable account of Herodotus (viii. 108.) it was not Aristides, but Eurybiades the commander-in-chief, who made this reply to Themistocles.

⁶⁶ Herodotus (xiii. 110.) says 'Sicinnus,' who had been previously employed on a similar errand: and Dacier and Larcher, the commentators of Plutarch and of that historian, stoutly contend for the superior probability of the narratives of their respective authors.*

naces by name, to acquaint him, " That the Greeks, " since their naval victory, were determined to sail " to the Hellespont and destroy the bridge; but " that Themistocles, in care for the king's safety, " advised him to hasten toward his own seas, and " pass over into Asia, while his friend endeavoured " to find out pretences of delay, in order to prevent " the confederates from pursuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greatest precipitation⁶⁷. Of the prudence of this management on the part of Themistocles and Aristides, Mardonius afforded a proof, when with a small part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks in imminent danger of losing all, at the battle of Plataeæ.

Herodotus⁶⁸ informs us that, among the cities, Ægina bore away the palm; but, among the commanders, Themistocles in spite of envy was universally allowed to have distinguished himself the most. For when they came to the Isthmus, and every officer took a billet from the altar⁶⁹, to inscribe upon it the names of those who had done the best service, every one put himself in the first place, and Themistocles in the second. The Lacedæmonians, having conducted him to Sparta, adjudged to Eurybiades the prize of valour, and to Themistocles that of wisdom, honouring each with a crown of olive. They presented the latter likewise with the handsomest chariot

⁶⁷ Xerxes, having left Mardonius in Greece with an army of three hundred thousand men, retired with the rest toward Thrace, in order to cross the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared before-hand, his army underwent great hardships, during the whole time of his march, which lasted forty-five days. The king, finding they were not in a condition to pursue their route so expeditiously as he desired, advanced with a small retinue; but, when he arrived at the Hellespont, he found his bridge of boats broken down by the violence of the storms, and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat. From the Hellespont he continued his flight to Sardis.

⁶⁸ viii. 123.*

⁶⁹ Of Neptune. This solemnity was designed to make them give their judgement impartially, as in the presence of the gods. Herodot. ib.

in the city, and ordered three hundred of their youth to attend him to the borders⁷⁰. At the next Olympic games also, we are told, as soon as Themistocles appeared in the ring, the champions were overlooked by the spectators, who fixed their eyes upon him the whole day, and pointed him out to strangers with the utmost admiration and applause. This incense was extremely grateful to him; and he acknowledged to his friends, that he then reaped the fruit of his labours for Greece.

He was naturally indeed very ambitious, if we may form a conclusion from his memorable acts and sayings.

When elected admiral by the Athenians, he would not separately despatch any business public or private, but deferred all affairs to the day upon which he was to embark; that, having much to do, he might appear with the greater dignity and importance.

One day, as he was looking upon the dead bodies cast up by the sea, and saw a number of chains of gold and bracelets upon them, he passed by them, and turning to his friend said; "Take these things for yourself, for you are not Themistocles."

To Antiphates, who had formerly treated him with disdain, but in his glory made his court to him, he remarked; "Young man, we are both come to our senses at the same time, though a little too late."

He used to say, "The Athenians paid him no honour or sincere respect: but when a storm arose, or any danger appeared, they sheltered themselves under him, as under a plane-tree; which, when the weather was fair again, they would strip of it's leaves and branches."

When one of Seriphus⁷¹ told him, "He was not

⁷⁰ The only instance of such an honour paid by the Lacedæmonians, according to Herodotus. Diod. Sic. (xi. 27.) ascribes it to their fear of his resenting their neglect.*

⁷¹ A small island among the Cyclades, ridiculed for it's insignificance by Juvenal (Sat. x.), and by Tacitus (Ann. iv. 21.) repre-

“ so much honoured for his own sake, but for that of his country :” “ True,” replied he ; “ for neither should I have been greatly distinguished, if I had been of Seriphus, nor you, if you had been of Athens.”

Another officer, who thought he had done the state some service, setting himself up against Themistocles and venturing to compare their exploits, he answered him with this fable : “ There once happened a dispute between the Feast-day, and the Day after the feast. Said the Day after the feast, I am full of bustle and trouble ; whereas, with you, folks enjoy at their ease every thing ready provided. You say right, replied the Feast-day, but if I had not been before you, you would not have been at all. So, had it not been for me then, where would you have been now ⁷² ?”

His son being master of his mother, and by her means of himself, he observed laughing, “ This child is greater than any man in Greece ; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother.”

As he loved to be particular in every thing, when he happened to sell a farm, he ordered the crier to add, “ that it had a good neighbour.”

Two citizens courting his daughter, he preferred the worthy man to the wealthy one, and assigned as his reason ; “ He had rather she should have a man without money, than money without a man.” Such was the pointed manner, in which he often expressed himself ⁷³.

sented as one entire rock, to which the Romans commonly transported their exiles.*

⁷² There is the genuine Attic salt in most of these retorts and observations of Themistocles. His wit seems to have been equal to his military and political ability.

⁷³ Cicero (De Fin. ii. 32.) has preserved another of his sayings, which deserves mentioning. When Simonides offered to teach Themistocles the art of memory, he answered, ‘ Ah ! rather teach

After these achievements, his next enterprise was to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens. According to Theopompus, he bribed the Lacedæmonian Ephori, that they might not oppose it; but most historians agree, that he over-reached them. He was despatched, it seems, on pretence of an embassy, to Sparta. The Spartans complained, that the Athenians were fortifying their city; and the governor of Ægina, who was come for that purpose, supported the accusation. But Themistocles absolutely denied it, and challenged them to send proper persons to Athens to inspect the walls; thus at once gaining time for finishing them, and contriving to have hostages at Athens for his return. The event answered his expectation. For the Lacedæmonians, when assured how the fact stood, dissembled their resentment, and suffered him to depart with impunity ⁷⁴.

After this, he built and fortified the Piræus, having observed the conveniency of that harbour; by which means he gave the city every maritime accommodation. In this respect, his politics were very different from those of the ancient kings of Athens. They, we are told, used their endeavours to draw the attention of their subjects from the business of navigation, that they might turn it entirely to the culture of the ground; and to this purpose they published the fable recording the contention of Minerva and Neptune for the patronage of Attica, when the former, by producing an olive-tree before the judges, gained her cause. Themistocles did not bring the Piræus into the city, as Aristophanes ⁷⁵ the

me the art of forgetting; for I often remember what I would not, and cannot forget what I would.*

⁷⁴ This story is fully detailed by Thucyd. i. 90. The pretext (he states) upon which the Lacedæmonians resisted the fortifying of Athens, was that the city, in the event of another Persian invasion, might be converted into a fortress by the enemy.*

⁷⁵ *Irris* ii. 3., where, under the mask of praise, he covertly insinuates that Themistocles introduced into the city the licentiousness of a maritime place.*

comic poet would have it : but he joined the city by a line of communication to the Piræus, and the land to the sea. This measure strengthened the people against the nobility, and made them bolder and more untractable, as power came with wealth into the hands of masters of ships, mariners, and pilots. Hence it was, that the Oratory in Pnyx, which had been built to front the sea, was afterward turned by the Thirty Tyrants toward the land⁷⁶; for they believed a maritime power inclinable to a democracy, whereas persons employed in agriculture would be less uneasy under an oligarchy.

Themistocles had something still more important in view for strengthening the Athenians by sea. After the retreat of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was gone into the harbour of Pagasæ to winter, he acquainted the citizens in full assembly, “ That he
“ had hit upon a design which might greatly contri-
“ bute to their advantage, but it was unfit to be
“ communicated to their whole body.” The Athenians ordered him to communicate it to Aristides exclusively⁷⁷; and, if he approved of it, to carry it into execution. Themistocles then informed him, “ That he had a project for burning the confederate
“ fleet at Pagasæ.” Upon which, Aristides went and declared to the people, “ That the enterprise
“ which Themistocles proposed was indeed most
“ advantageous, but at the same time most unjust.” The Athenians, therefore, commanded him to lay aside all thoughts of it⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ It's use was finally discontinued, as the site was found under every aspect to be too democratical. See the Life of Camillus, in this vol., and the Life of Caius Gracchus, Vol. V.*

The thirty tyrants were established at Athens by Lysander, B. C. 404.

⁷⁷ How glorious this testimony of public regard to Aristides, from a people then so free, and so virtuous! And how much more glorious to that people itself! The same principle does not appear to have been adopted in the seizure of the Danish fleet (1807).

⁷⁸ It is hardly possible for the military and political genius of Themistocles to save him from contempt and detestation, when we

About this time the Lacedæmonians made a motion in the assembly of the Amphictyons, to exclude from that council all those states, which had not joined in the confederacy against the king of Persia. But Themistocles was apprehensive that if the Thessalians, the Argives, and the Thebans were expelled from the council, the Lacedæmonians would have a large majority of voices, and might consequently procure what decrees they pleased. He therefore patronised those states, and induced the deputies⁷⁹ to lay aside their design, by representing that thirty-one cities only had their share of the burthen of that war, and that of these the greatest part were but of small consideration; that consequently it would be both unreasonable and dangerous to exclude the rest of Greece from the league, and leave the council to be controlled by two or three large cities. Hence he became very obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, who for this reason set up Cimon* against him as a rival in all affairs of state, and used their whole interest for his advancement.

He disoblged the allies, also, by sailing round the islands, and extorting money from them; as we may conclude from the answer, which (Herodotus informs us) the Andrians⁸⁰ returned to a demand of that sort. He told them that “ he brought two gods

arrive at this part of his conduct.—A serious proposal to burn the confederate fleet! that fleet, whose united efforts had saved Greece from destruction, and which had fought under his auspices with such irresistible valour! that sacred fleet, the minutest parts of which should have been religiously preserved, or if consumed, consumed only on the altars and in the service of the gods! How diabolical is that policy, which in it's way to power tramples upon humanity, justice, and gratitude!

⁷⁹ Called ‘Pylagoræ’ in the original, from their meeting at Thermopylæ, the straits so denominated on account of their proximity to some warm baths (θερμὸς), and their resembling in narrowness a gate (πύλη).*

* In the Life of Cimon we are told, this opposition was concerted by Aristides.*

⁸⁰ Andros was one of the Cyclades, between Eubœa and Naxos. Herodotus gives the demand, and the reply, more at length, viii. 111.*

“ along with him, Persuasion and Force.” They replied, that “ they likewise had two powerful gods “ on their side, Poverty and Despair, who forbade “ them to satisfy him.” Timocreon, the Rhodian poet, writes with great bitterness against Themistocles; and charges him with having betrayed him, though his friend and host, for money, while for the like paltry consideration he procured the return of other exiles. So in these verses :

Pausanias you may praise, and you Xantippus,
And you Leutychidas: But sure the hero,
Who bears the Athenian palm, is Aristides.
What is the traitor, false Themistocles?
The very light is grudged him by Latona,
Who for vile pelf betray'd Timocreon,
His friend and host; nor gave him to behold
His dear Jälysus⁸¹. For talents three
He sail'd, and left him on a foreign coast.
What fatal end awaits the man that kills,
That banishes, that sets the villain up,
To fill his glittering stores; while ostentation
Ridiculously boasts the generous hand,
And at the Isthmus spreads a public board
For crowds that eat, and curse him at the banquet?

But Timocreon gave a still looser reign to his abuse of Themistocles, after the condemnation and banishment of that illustrious man, in a poem which begins thus :

Muse, crown'd with glory, bear this faithful strain,
Far as the Grecian name extends.

Timocreon is said to have been banished by Themistocles, for favouring the Persians. When therefore Themistocles was accused of the same traitorous inclinations, he wrote against him as follows :

Timocreon's honour to the Medes is sold,
But yet not his alone : Another fox
Finds the same fields to prey in.

⁸¹ A city of Rhodes, so called from its celebrated painting (by Protogenes) of the hunter Jälysus and his dog.*

As the Athenians through envy readily gave ear to calumnies against him, he was often obliged to recount his own services, which rendered him still more insupportable; and, when they expressed their displeasure, he said, "Are you tired of receiving frequent benefits from the same hand?"

Another cause of offence to the people was, his having built a temple to Diana under the name of Aristobule, or, Diana 'of the best counsel;' intimating that he had given the best counsel, not only to Athens, but to all Greece. This temple he erected near his own house, in the quarter of Melita, where the executioners now cast out the bodies of those who have suffered death, and where they throw the halters and clothes of such as have been strangled or otherwise put to death. There was, even in our times, a statue of Themistocles in this temple of Diana Aristobule, from which it appeared that his aspect was as heroic as his soul.

At last the Athenians, unable any longer to bear the high distinction in which he stood, banished him by the Ostracism. This was nothing more than what they had done to others, whose power was become a burthen to them, and who had risen above the equality required in a commonwealth; for the Ostracism was not so much intended to punish this or that great man, as to sooth and alleviate the fury of envy, who delights in the disgrace of superior characters, and loses a part of her rancour by their fall.

In the time of his exile, while he took up his abode at Argos, the affair of Pausanias⁸² gave consider-

⁸² This illustrious man (son of Cleombrotus, and king of Sparta) who had beaten the Persians in the battle of Plataeæ, and who upon many occasions had behaved with great generosity as well as moderation, at last degenerated; and entered into a scandalous treaty with the Persians, in hopes through their interest to make himself sovereign of Greece. [His project was to deliver up that country to Xerxes, and to hold it under him as his tributary, on condition of his receiving his daughter in marriage. (Thucyd. i. 128.)*] As soon as he had conceived these strange notions, he adopted the manners of the Persians, affected all their luxury, and derided the

able advantage to the enemies of Themistocles. The person, who accused him of treason, was Leobotes the son of Alcmaeon of Agraule, and the Spartans joined in the impeachment. Pausanias at first concealed his plot from Themistocles, though he was his friend; but when he saw him an exile, and full of indignation against the Athenians, he ventured to communicate to him his designs, showing him the king of Persia's letters, and exciting him to vengeance against the Greeks as an unjust and ungrateful people. Themistocles rejected indeed his solicitations, and refused to have the least share in his projects; but he gave no information of what had passed between them, nor suffered the secret to transpire: whether he thought that he would desist of himself, or that he would be detected some other way, as he had embarked in an absurd and extravagant enterprise without any rational hopes of success.

When Pausanias however was put to death, there were found letters and other writings relative to the business, which excited no small suspicion against Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians raised a clamour against him; and those of his fellow-citizens, who envied him, insisted on the charge. He was not able to defend himself in person, but he answered by letter the principal parts of the accusation. For, to obviate the calumnies of his enemies, he observed to the Athenians; "That he who was born to command, and incapable of servitude, could never
" sell himself, and Greece along with himself, to
" enemies and barbarians." But the people listened to his accusers, and sent persons with orders to bring

plain customs of his country, which he had formerly idolised. The Ephori waited some time for clear proof of his treacherous designs; and, when they had obtained it, determined to imprison him. But he fled into the temple of Minerva Chalciæcos; upon which they walled up all the gates, his own mother silently laying the first stone. When they had almost starved him to death, they laid hands on him, and by the time they had dragged him out of the temple, he expired. (Thucyd. ib. 134., and Diod. Sic. xi. 45.)

him to his defence before the states of Greece. Of this he received timely notice, and passed over to the isle of Corcyra; the inhabitants of which had great obligations to him: for a difference between them and the people of Corinth had been referred to his arbitration, and he had decided it by awarding the Corinthians⁸³ to pay down twenty talents, and the isle of Leucas to remain in common between the two parties, as a colony from both. Thence he fled to Epirus, and finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, had recourse to a very hazardous and uncertain measure, by imploring the protection of Admetus, king of the Molossians. Admetus had made a request to the Athenians, which being rejected with scorn by Themistocles in the time of his prosperity and political influence, that prince entertained a deep resentment against him, and made no secret of his intention of revenging himself, if ever the Athenian should fall into his power. While he was thus flying however from place to place, he was more afraid of the recent envy of his countrymen, than of the consequences of an old quarrel with the king; and he therefore went and put himself into his hands, appearing before him as a suppliant in a particular and extraordinary manner. He took the king's son, who was yet a child, in his arms, and kneeled down before the household-gods⁸⁴. This manner of offering a petition

⁸³ The scholiast upon Thucydides informs us, that Themistocles served the people of Corcyra in an affair of still greater importance. The states of Greece were inclined to make war upon that island, for not having joined in the league against Xerxes; but Themistocles represented that, if they were in that manner to punish all the cities which had not acceded to the league, their proceedings would bring heavier calamities upon Greece, than it had suffered from the barbarians. (L.) Fear however had more influence over the Corcyraeans, than gratitude; for, under the apprehension of giving offence to the states of Athens and Sparta, they refused their benefactor an asylum, and sent him to Epirus. Thucydides (i. 30.) represents Leucas as exclusively a Corinthian colony.*

⁸⁴ It was nothing particular for a suppliant to do homage to the household-gods of the person, to whom he had a request. [Ulysses,

the Molossians consider as the most effectual, and the only one that can scarcely be rejected. Some say the queen, whose name was Phthia, suggested this mode of supplication to Themistocles. Others, that Admetus himself taught him to act the part, in order that he might have a sacred obligation to allege in this solemn adjuration, against surrendering him to those who might come to demand him.

Thither Epicrates, the Acarnanian, found means to convey the wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens; for which Cimon afterward condemned him, and put him to death. This account is given by Stesimbrotus; yet strangely forgetting what he had asserted, or making Themistocles forget it, he tells us he sailed thence to Sicily, and demanded king Hiero's daughter in marriage, promising to bring the Greeks under his subjection; and that, on Hiero's refusal, he passed over into Asia. But this is not probable. For Theophrastus, in his Treatise upon Monarchy, relates that when Hiero sent his race-horses to the Olympic games, and erected a superb pavilion there, Themistocles harangued the Greeks to persuade them to pull it down, and not to suffer the tyrant's horses to contend for the prize. Thucydides writes, that he went by land to the Ægean sea, and embarked at Pydna; that none in the ship knew him, till he was driven by a storm to Naxos, which was at that time besieged by the Athenians; that through fear of being seized, he then informed the master of the ship and the pilot, who he was; and that partly by entreaties, and partly by threatening to declare to the Athenians, however falsely, that they knew him from the first, and had

on his arrival at the court of Alcinoüs (Od. vii. 153.) sits down upon the ashes of his hearth:

—καὶ ἀπ' ἑζέτ' ἐπ' ἑσχαρῇ ἐν κονίῃσι.

See also Thucyd. i. 136.*] But to do it with the king's son in his arms, was an extraordinary circumstance.

been bribed to receive him into their vessel, he obliged them to weigh anchor and sail for Asia⁸⁵.

The greatest part of his treasures was privately sent after him to Asia by his friends. What was discovered and seized for the public use, Theopompus states, amounted to a hundred talents; Theophrastus says, fourscore: though he did not possess three talents, before his employments in the government⁸⁶.

When he landed at Cuma, he understood that a number of people, particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, were watching to take him. He was indeed a rich booty to those, who were determined to get money by any means whatever; for the king of Persia had offered by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him⁸⁷. He therefore retired to Ægæ, a little town of the Æolians, where he was known only to Nicogenes his host, a man of great wealth and powerful connexions at the Persian court. In his house he lay concealed a few days; and one evening after supper, when the sacrifice was offered, Olbius tutor to Nicogenes' children cried out, as in a rapture of inspiration,

Voice, art, O Night, and victory are thine⁸⁸.

After this, Themistocles went to bed, and dreamed he saw a dragon coiled round his body, and creep-

⁸⁵ In the detail of this subject Thucydides is much more particular.*

⁸⁶ This is totally inconsistent with that splendour, in which (according to Plutarch's own account) he lived, before he had any public appointments.

⁸⁷ The resentment of Xerxes is not at all to be wondered at, since Themistocles had not only beaten him in the battle of Salamis, but what was still more disgraceful, had made him a dupe to his devices. In the loss of victory, he had some consolation, as he was not himself the immediate cause of it; but, for his ridiculous return to Asia, his anger could fall only upon himself or upon Themistocles.

⁸⁸ i. e. 'Listen to the suggestions of thy pillow, and thou shalt succeed.'^{*}

ing up to his neck ; which, as soon as it touched his face, was changed into an eagle, and covering him with it's wings took him up, and carried him to a distant place ; where a golden sceptre appeared to him, upon which he rested securely, and was delivered from all his fear and trouble ⁸⁹.

In consequence of this warning, he was sent away by Nicogenes, under the following contrivance : The barbarians in general, especially the Persians, are jealous of women even to madness : not only of their wives, but also of their slaves and concubines : for, beside providing that they shall be seen by none but their own family, they keep them like prisoners in their houses, and when they travel, convey them in a carriage close-covered on all sides. In such a carriage as this Themistocles was conveyed ; the attendants being instructed to tell those whom they met, if they happened to be questioned, that they were carrying a Grecian lady from Ionia to a nobleman at court ⁹⁰.

Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus relate, that Xerxes was then dead, and that it was to his son ⁹¹ Artaxerxes, that Themistocles addressed himself. But Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides ⁹², and several others affirm, that Xerxes himself was

⁸⁹ Synesius, it seems, has pronounced it disgraceful to be incapable of interpreting a dream, after attaining one's twentieth year. To avoid so harsh a stigma, M. Dacier considers the serpent as a symbol of Nicogenes protecting Themistocles, like the dragon of Minerva which guarded the Athenian citadel. This, as soon as an intimate connexion takes place between the parties, conveys the fugitive rapidly to the foot of the Persian throne, &c. &c.*

⁹⁰ In the original, *στὴν θύραν τοῦ βασιλέως*, and translated by M. Ricard, '*a un des seigneurs de la Porte du roi* ;' as an explanation of which he states in a note, that the Persian court (like that of Turkey in our times) was stiled 'the Porte.*'

⁹¹ Themistocles, therefore, arrived at the Persian court, Ol. lxxix. 1., B. C. 464; for that was the first year of Artaxerxes' reign. (L.) (Thucyd. i. 137.) This, the more probable account, is adopted by Dodwell (Annal. Thucyd.) and Corsini: the partisans of the other, headed by Diod Sic. (xi. 56.), bring Themistocles into Persia seven years earlier.*

⁹² Of these authors, it may suffice to remark, that Ephorus (of Cumæ in Ellis) by his History of Greece ranks next to Herodotus

still upon the throne. The opinion of Thucydides seems most agreeable to chronology, though that is not perfectly settled. Themistocles, now ready for the dangerous experiment, applied first to Artabanus⁹³, a military officer; and told him that "He was a Greek, who desired to have an audience of the king about matters of great importance, which the king himself had much at heart." Artabanus answered, "The laws of men are different; some esteem one thing honourable, and some another: but it becomes all men to honour and observe the customs of their own country. With you, the thing most admired is said to be Liberty and Equality. We have many excellent laws; and we regard it as one of the most indispensable, to honour the king, and to adore him as the image of that deity, who preserves and supports the universe. If therefore you are willing to conform to our customs, and to prostrate yourself before the king, you may be permitted to see him and speak to him. But, if you cannot bring yourself to this, you must acquaint him with your business through the medium of a third person. It would be an infringement of the custom of his country, for the king to admit any one to an audience, that does not worship him." To this Themistocles replied: "My business, Artabanus, is to add to the king's honour and power; I will comply therefore with your customs, since the god who has exalted the Persians will have it so; and by my means the number of the king's worshippers shall be increased. Let this, then, be no hindrance to my communicating to the king what I have to say." "But who," asked Artabanus, "shall we say you are? for, by your discourse, you appear to be no ordinary person." Themistocles answered, "No one

and Thucydides: and that Dinon, the father of Clitarchus, wrote a History of Persia in the time of Alexander the Great.*

⁹³ Son of that Artabanus captain of the guards, who slew Xerxes, and persuaded Artaxerxes to cut off his elder brother Darius.

“ must know that, previously to the king himself.” So Phanias writes; and Eratosthenes⁹⁴, in his *Treatise upon Riches*, adds that Themistocles was introduced and recommended to Artabanus by an Eretrian woman, who belonged to that officer.

When he was brought before the king, and after his prostration stood silent, the king commanded the interpreter to ask him who he was. The interpreter accordingly putting the question, he replied; “ The man, O king, who is now come to address himself to you, is Themistocles the Athenian, an exile persecuted by the Greeks. The Persians have suffered much by me, but it has been more than compensated by my preventing your being pursued; when after I had delivered Greece, and saved my own country, I had it in my power to do you also a service. My sentiments are suitable to my present misfortunes; and I come prepared either to receive your favour, if you are reconciled to me, or if you retain any resentment, to disarm it by my submission. Reject not the testimony, which my enemies have given to the services I have rendered the Persians; and make use of the opportunity, which my misfortunes afford you, rather to show your generosity, than to satisfy your revenge. If you save me, you save your suppliant; if you destroy me, you destroy the enemy of Greece⁹⁵.” In hopes of influencing the king by an argument drawn from religion, Themistocles added to this speech an account of the vision which he had seen in Nicogenes’ house, and of an oracle of Jupiter of Dodona, which had ordered him ‘to go to one, who bore the same name with the god;’ from which he concluded he

⁹⁴ This writer was invited by Ptolemy Euergetes, from his native city Cyrene, to superintend the celebrated Alexandrian library; and on account of his learning was denominated ‘a second Plato.’*

⁹⁵ How extremely abject and contemptible is this petition, in which the suppliant founds all his arguments upon his vices!

was sent to him, since both were called and were in reality 'great kings.'

The king gave him no answer, though he admired his courage and magnanimity; but with his friends he felicitated himself upon this, as the most fortunate event imaginable. We are told also, that he prayed to Arimanius⁹⁶, that his enemies might ever be so infatuated, as to drive from among them their ablest men; that he offered sacrifice to the gods, and immediately afterward made a large entertainment; and was even so much affected with joy that, when he retired to rest, in the midst of his sleep he exclaimed thrice, "I have Themistocles 'the Athenian.'"

As soon as it was day, he called together his friends, and ordered Themistocles to be brought before him. The exile expected no favour, when he found that the guards at the first hearing of his name treated him with rancour, and loaded him with reproaches. Nay, when the king had taken his seat and a respectful silence ensued, Roxanes one of his officers, as Themistocles passed him, whispered him with a sigh; "Ah! thou subtle serpent of Greece, 'the king's good genius has brought thee hither.'" When he had prostrated himself however twice in the presence, the king saluted him and spoke to him graciously, telling him, "He owed him two hundred talents; for, as he had delivered himself up, it was but just that he should receive the reward offered to any one that should bring him." He promised him likewise much more, assured him of his protection, and ordered him to declare freely whatever he had to propose concerning Greece. Themistocles replied, "That a man's discourse was like a piece of tapestry⁹⁷, which

⁹⁶ The god of darkness, the supposed author of plagues and calamities, was called Ahriman or Arimanius. (L.) The opposite deity of good (for the Persians, in their theological system, admitted two conflicting principles) was named Ormuzd, or Oromasdes.*

⁹⁷ In this, he artfully conformed to the figurative manner of speaking in use among eastern nations. See Thucyd. i. 138.

“ when spread open displays it's figures, but when
“ folded up, conceals and obscures them ; he there-
“ fore begged time.” The king, delighted with the
comparison, bade him take what time he pleased ;
and he desired a year : in which space he learned
the Persian language, so as to be able to converse
with the king without an interpreter.

Those, who did not belong to the court, believed
that he entertained their prince on the subject of
the Grecian affairs ; but as there were then many
changes in the ministry, he incurred the envy of the
nobility, who suspected that he had presumed to
speak too freely of them to the king. The honours,
that were paid him, were far superior to those,
which other strangers had experienced : the king
took him a-hunting, conversed familiarly with him in
his palace, and introduced him to the queen-mother,
who honoured him with her confidence. He, like-
wise, gave orders for his being instructed in the
learning of the Magi.

Demaratus the Lacedæmonian, who was then at
court, being ordered to ask a favour, desired that
he might be carried through Sardis in royal state⁹⁸
with a diadem upon his head. But Mithropaustes,
the king's cousin-german, took him by the hand
and said, “ Demaratus, this diadem does not carry
“ brains along with it to cover ; nor would you be
“ Jupiter, though you should lay hold on his thun-
“ der.” The king was highly displeased at Dema-
ratus for having made this request, and seemed de-
termined never to forgive him ; yet, at the entreaty
of Themistocles, he was persuaded to be reconciled.
And in the following reigns, when the affairs of
Persia and Greece were more closely connected,
as often as the kings requested a favour of any
Grecian captain, they are said to have promised
him in express terms, “ That he should be a greater

⁹⁸ This was the highest mark of honour, which the Persian kings
could give. See Esth. vi. 11.

“man at their court, than Themistocles had been.” Nay, we are told that Themistocles himself, in the midst of his power and the extraordinary respect that was shown to him, seeing his table most elegantly spread, turned to his children and said, “Children, “we should have been undone, had it not been for “our undoing⁹⁹.” Most authors agree that he had three cities assigned him, for bread, wine, and meat, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus¹⁰⁰. Neanthes of Cyzicum and Phanias add two more, Percote and Palæscepsis, for his chamber and his wardrobe.

Some business relative to Greece having brought him to the sea-coast, a Persian named Epixyes governor of Upper Phrygia, who had a design upon his life, and had long prepared certain Pisidians to kill him, when he should lodge in a city called Leontocephalus¹⁰¹ or ‘Lion’s Head,’ now determined to carry it into execution. But, as he lay sleeping

⁹⁹ This sentiment was expressed by St. Augustine, I believe, on the awful subject of the Redemption, as consequent upon the fall of man, and placing him, according to the argument of St. Paul (Rom. v. 15—20., &c.) in a much loftier situation; *Periissem, ni periissem*.*

¹⁰⁰ The country about Magnesia (situated upon the river Mæander, in Asia Minor, not far from Ephesus) was so fertile, that it brought Themistocles a revenue of fifty talents; Lampsacus (on the Hellespont) had in it’s neighbourhood the noblest vineyards of the east; and Myus or Myon (a city of Caria, near the mouth of the above-mentioned river) abounded with provisions, particularly with fish. (Thucyd. i. 138.) It was usual with the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions to their favourites, to assign them cities and provinces. Even those, of which the kings retained the revenue, were under particular assignments; one province furnishing so much for wine, another for victuals, a third for the privy-purse, and a fourth for the wardrobe. One of the queens had all Egypt for her clothing; and Plato tells us (1 Alcib.) that many of the provinces were appropriated for the queen’s wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her head-dress, &c.; and that each province bore the name of that part of the dress, which it was to furnish. (L.)

Percote was a city also on the Hellespont, between Abydus and Lampsacus: and Palæscepsis was situated in the Troad.*

¹⁰¹ This name does not occur either in Strabo, in Steph. Byzant., or in Pliny.*

one day at noon on his way thither, the mother of the gods is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and to have thus addressed him: "Beware, Themistocles, of the Lion's Head, lest the Lion crush you. For this warning, I require of you Mnesiptolema for my servant." Themistocles awoke in great disorder, and when he had devoutly returned thanks to the goddess, left the high-road and pursued another way, to avoid the place of danger. At night, he took up his lodging beyond it; but as one of the horses which had carried his tent had fallen into a river, and his servants were busied in spreading the wet hangings to dry, the Pisidians, who were advancing with their swords drawn, saw these hangings indistinctly by moonlight, and taking them for the tent of Themistocles, expected to find him reposing himself within. They approached, therefore, and lifted up the hangings; upon which the servants, who had the care of them, fell upon them and took them. The danger thus avoided, Themistocles admiring the goodness of the goddess that had appeared to him, built a temple in Magnesia, which he dedicated to Cybele Dindymene, and appointed his daughter Mnesiptolema it's priestess.

When he was come to Sardis, he diverted himself with looking upon the ornaments of the temples; and among a great number of offerings, he found in the temple of Cybele a female figure of brass, two cubits high, called Hydrophorus or 'the water-bearer;' which he himself, when surveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated, out of the fines of such as had stolen the water, or diverted the stream. Whether it were that he was moved at seeing this statue in a strange country, or that he was desirous of showing the Athenians how much he was honoured¹⁰², and what

¹⁰² It is not improbable, that this proceeded from a principle of vanity. The love of admiration was the ruling passion of Themistocles, and discovers itself uniformly throughout his whole conduct.

power he had over all the king's dominions, he addressed himself to the governor of Lydia, and begged leave to send back the statue to Athens. The barbarian immediately took fire, and said he would certainly acquaint the king what kind of a request he had made. Themistocles, alarmed at this menace, applied to the governor's women, and by money prevailed upon them to pacify him. After this, he behaved with more prudence, sensible how much he had to fear from the envy of the Persians. Hence he did not travel about Asia, as Theopompus says, but took up his abode at Magnesia; where loaded with valuable presents, and equally honoured with the Persian nobles, he long lived in the utmost security: for the king, who was much engaged in the affairs of the Upper Provinces, gave but little attention to the concerns of Greece.

But when Egypt revolted, and was abetted in that revolt by the Athenians; when the Grecian fleet sailed as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon rode triumphant master of the seas, then the king of Persia applied himself to oppose the Greeks, and to prevent the growth of their power. He put his forces in motion, sent out his generals, and despatched messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to command him to perform his promises and exert himself against Greece. Neither resentment however against the Athenians, nor the honours and authority in which he now flourished, could prevail upon him to engage in the war. Possibly he might doubt the event of it, as Greece had then several great generals; and Cimon, in particular,

There might however be another reason, which Plutarch has not mentioned. Themistocles was an excellent manager in political religion. He had lately been eminently distinguished by the favour of Cybele. He finds an Athenian statue in her temple. The goddess consents, that he should send it to Athens; and the Athenians, out of respect to the goddess, must of course cease to persecute her favourite Themistocles.

was distinguished by extraordinary success. Above all, regard for his own achievements and trophies, the glory of which he was unwilling to tarnish, determined him (as the best method he could adopt) to put an end to his life in a manner becoming his dignity¹⁰³. Having therefore sacrificed to the gods, assembled his friends, and taken his last leave, he drank bull's blood¹⁰⁴, as it is generally reported (or, as others state, a quick poison) and ended his days at Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in civil or military employments. When the king was acquainted with the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than ever, and continued his favour and bounty to his friends and relations¹⁰⁵.

By Archippe, the daughter of Lysander of Alopece, Themistocles had five sons, Neocles, Diocles, Archeptolis, Polyeuctes, and Cleophantus. The three last survived him. Plato takes notice of Cleophantus as an excellent horseman¹⁰⁶, but a man of no merit in other respects. Neocles his eldest son died, when a child, by the bite of a horse; and Dio-

¹⁰³ Thucydides (i. 138.) who was contemporary with Themistocles, only says, 'He died of a distemper; but some report that he poisoned himself, finding it impossible to accomplish what he had promised the king.' (L.)

See also Diod. Sic. xi. 57., and Cic. Brut. ii., from whom the obvious inference is, that he died a natural death. But Plutarch, beside his desire to throw a lustre round his hero's exit, was solicitous to give a glorious example of his favourite exploit, suicide—a subject, upon which he most widely differed from the demichristian Socrates, though in so many other respects he was proud to make him his model.*

¹⁰⁴ When they were sacrificing the bull, he caused the blood to be received in a cup, and drank it while it was warm, which (according to Pliny) is mortal, because it coagulates or thickens in an instant.

¹⁰⁵ There is, in our opinion, more true heroism in the death of Themistocles, than in that of Cato. It is indeed enthusiastically great, when a man determines not to survive his liberty; but it is still greater, when he refuses to survive his honour.

¹⁰⁶ This ancient Astley, it appears, could stand upright on horseback, and use his bow in that attitude; but had been less industrious to profit by his father's moral lessons.*

cles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters; namely, Mnesiptolema, by a second wife, who was married to Archeptolis, her half-brother; Italia, whose husband was Panthides of Chios; Sibaris, married to Nicomedes the Athenian; and Nicomache at Magnesia to his nephew Phrasicles, who after her father's death took a voyage for that purpose, received her at the hands of her brothers, and brought up her sister Asia, the youngest of the children.

The Magnesians erected a very handsome monument to him, which still remains in the market-place. No credit is to be given to Andocides, who writes to his friends, that the Athenians stole his ashes out of the tomb, and scattered them in the air; for it is a mere artifice of his, to exasperate the nobility against the people. Phylarchus likewise, more like a writer of tragedy than an historian, availing himself of what may be called a piece of machinery, introduces Neocles and Demopolis as the sons of Themistocles, to render his story more interesting and pathetic. But a very moderate degree of sagacity may detect the fiction. Yet Diodorus the geographer writes, in his *Treatise upon Sepulchres* (rather however from conjecture than from certain knowledge) that near the harbour of Piræus, from the promontory of Alcimus¹⁰⁷, the land makes an elbow; and, when you have doubled it inward, by the still water there is a vast foundation, upon which stands the tomb of Themistocles¹⁰⁸ in the form of an altar. With him

¹⁰⁷ Meursius rightly corrects it 'Alimus.' We find no place in Attica called 'Alcimus,' but there was a borough named Alimus on the east of the Piræus, celebrated for its temple of Ceres, and as the birth-place of Thucydides. (Pausan. i. 31.)

¹⁰⁸ Thucydides i. 138. says that the bones of Themistocles, in obedience to his own command, were privately carried back into Attica by his relations, and buried there. But Pausanias agrees with Diodorus that the Athenians, repenting of their ill usage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the Piræus (which was still remaining in his time) and other eminent marks of distinction. (i. 1.)

Plato, the comic writer, is supposed to agree in the following lines :

Oft as the merchant speeds the passing sail,
Thy tomb, Themistocles, he stops to hail :
When hostile ships in martial combat meet,
Thy shade attending hovers o'er the fleet.

Various honours and privileges were granted by the Magnesians to the descendents of Themistocles, which continued down to our times ; for they were enjoyed by one of his name, an Athenian, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendship in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.

It does not appear, indeed, that Themistocles when banished had any design either to revenge himself on Athens, or to take refuge in the court of the king of Persia. The Greeks themselves forced him upon this, or rather the Lacedæmonians ; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to banish him, so by their importunities, after he was banished, he was not suffered to enjoy any refuge in quiet.

THE
LIFE
OF
CAMILLUS.

SUMMARY.

Camillus attained every dignity, except that of the consulship. His valour : he is chosen censor. Siege of Veii. Overflowing of the Alban lake. The oracles consulted upon this subject : Camillus elected dictator : defeat of the Falisci : taking of Veii. The statue of Juno conveyed thence to Rome. Camillus' triumph. He resists the plan of removing part of the people to Veii. The Romans offended at his vow. Offering sent to Delphi ; and danger incurred by the bearers of it. Faliscan war. Camillus' generous conduct toward the Falisci ; which induces them to surrender themselves to the Romans. The project of removing to Veii revived. Camillus banished. Invasion of Italy by the Gauls. They pour into Tuscany ; and besiege Clusium. Rashness of the Fabii countenanced by the Romans. The Gauls march to Rome. Battle of Allia. Lucky and unlucky days. Consternation of the Romans. The Vestals carry off the Sacred Fire. The Palladium and other sacred relics removed. The Gauls enter Rome ; and massacre the senators. Camillus' address to the Ardeates. He defeats the Gauls near Ardea. The Romans, who have retired to Veii, offer him the chief command. He is recalled from exile, and made dictator. The Gauls, on the point of surprising the Capitol, are repulsed. Critical situation of both parties. Treaty. Camillus intercedes, falls upon the Gauls, and defeats them. Re-enters Rome in triumph, and undertakes it's restoration. Still resists the plan of migrating to Veii ; and the people give it up. Rome is rebuilt. War with the Equi, Volsci, and Latins. Camillus' third

dictatorship. Victory of the Romans. Different account of this war. Sutrium taken and retaken in the same day. Manlius aspires to the sovereignty of Rome; and is thrown headlong from the Capitol, which he had preserved from the Gauls. War with the Prænestines and Volscians. Valour and victory of Camillus. He reduces the Tusculans, who had revolted. Disturbances excited by one of the tribunes. New invasion by the Gauls: opposed by Camillus; who gains a complete victory. The people obtain a plebeian consul. Temple of Concord built. Pestilence. Death of Camillus.

AMONG the many remarkable things related of Furius Camillus, the most extraordinary seems to be this, that though he was often in the highest commands and performed the greatest actions, though he was five times chosen dictator, triumphed four times, and was stiled ‘the Second Founder of Rome;’ yet he was never once consul. Of this we may, perhaps, discover the reason in the existing state of the commonwealth. The people, then at variance with the senate¹, refused to elect consuls, and in their stead placed the government in the hands of military tribunes; who, though invested with consular power and authority, were in their administration less grievous to the people, because they were more in number. To have the direction of affairs entrusted to six persons instead of two, was some ease and satisfaction to a populace who could not bear to be controlled by the nobility. Camillus, at that time distinguished by his achievements and

¹ The old quarrel about the distribution of lands was revived, the people insisting that every citizen should have an equal share. The senate met frequently, to baffle the proposal; and at last Appius Claudius moved, that some of the tribunes of the people should be gained, as the only remedy against the tyranny of that body; which was accordingly carried into execution. The commons, thus disappointed, chose military tribunes instead of consuls, and sometimes had them all plebeians. (Liv. iv. 43.)

at the height of glory, did not choose to be consul against the inclination of the people; though the *Comitia*, or assemblies in which they might have elected consuls, were several times held within that period². In all his other commissions, which were many and various, he so conducted himself that, if he was entrusted with the sole authority, he shared it with others; and, if he had a colleague, the glory was his own. The authority appeared to be shared from his singular modesty in command, which gave no occasion to envy; and the glory was secured to him by his genius and capacity, in which he was universally allowed to have no equal.

The family of the *Furii*³ was not before his time very illustrious; he was the first, who raised it to distinction, when he served under Posthumius Tubertus in the great battle with the *Æqui* and *Volsci*⁴. In that action, spurring his horse before the ranks,

² From A. U. C. 310., when Military Tribunes (according to Livy iv. 7.) were first elected, to A. U. C. 388, when the consuls were regularly re-established, there had been occasionally a few consulships, but not more than two or three during the period of Camillus' public life. The *Comitia* however for both were the *centuriata*, in which the people voted by centuries for the higher state-appointments of Consul, Censor, and Prætor. The Military Tribunes were, at first, only three in number.

³ *Furius* was the family-name. Camillus (as has been already observed, Life of Numa. p. 177. not. 22.) was an appellation of children of quality, who ministered in the temple of some god. Our Camillus was the first who retained it as a surname. (L.) His first name was Marcus. By the term 'illustrious,' Plutarch must refer (as M. Ricard suggests) rather to military, than to civil glory: for we find a Sextus Furius consul, A. U. C. 266. (Dion. Halic. viii. 3., Liv. ii. 39.), and in the interval of less than a century, which elapsed between that period and the date of Camillus' first tribuneship, no less than seventeen others of the same family rose to an equal elevation.*

⁴ This was A. U. C. 324, when Camillus might be about fourteen or fifteen years of age, though the Roman youth did not usually bear arms sooner than seventeen. And, though Plutarch says that his gallant behaviour at that time procured him the censorship, it must have been only from the recollection of his bravery, as the Romans never conferred the censorship upon a young person; Camillus, in fact, was not censor till A. U. C. 353. (L.) Of this gallant behaviour, Livy (iv. 28, 29.) takes no notice.*

he received a wound in the thigh; but instead of retiring he plucked the javelin out of the wound, engaged with the bravest of the enemy, and put them to flight. For this, among other honours, he was appointed censor, an office at that time of great dignity⁵. There is upon record a very laudable act of his, which took place during his discharge of this office. As the wars had made many widows, he obliged such of the men as lived single, partly by persuasion and partly by threatening them with fines, to marry those widows. Another necessary measure of his was causing orphans, who had previously been exempt from taxes, to contribute to the supplies: for these were very large, on account of the continual wars.

What was then most urgent was the siege of Veii, whose inhabitants some call Venetani. This city was the barrier of Tuscany, and in the extent of her equipments and the number of her soldiery not inferior to Rome. Proud of her wealth, her elegance, and her luxury, she had maintained with the Romans many long and gallant disputes for glory and for power. But humbled by several signal defeats, the Veientes had now bid adieu to that ambition; and satisfied with building strong and high walls, and filling the city with provisions, arms, and all kinds of warlike stores, awaited the enemy without fear. The siege was tedious, but not less laborious and

⁵ The authority of the censors (first established A. U. C. 311.) in the time of the republic was very extensive. They had a power to expel senators, to degrade knights, and to disable plebeians from giving their votes in the assemblies of the people. But the emperors took the office upon themselves; and, as by many of them it was abused, it lost it's honour, and sometimes the very title was laid aside. As to what Plutarch says, that Camillus, when censor, obliged many of the bachelors to marry the widows of those who had fallen in the wars; that was in pursuance of one of the powers of his office.—*Cælibes esse prohibento*. (L.) For their first creation, variations, &c. see Livy iv. 8. 24., Dion. Halic. xi. 15.; for their functions, of which the primary one was the *census* or numbering of the people every fifth year, Cic. de Legg. iii. &c.*

troublesome to the besiegers, than to themselves. For the Romans had long been accustomed to summer-campaigns only, and to winter at home; and then for the first time their officers ordered them to construct forts, to raise strong works about their camp, and to pass the winter as well as the summer in the enemy's country.

The seventh year of the war was now almost passed, when the generals began to be blamed: and, as it was thought that they had not displayed sufficient vigour in the siege⁶, they were superseded, and others sent in their room; among whom was Camillus, then appointed tribune the second time⁷. He was not however at present concerned in the siege, for it fell to his lot to head the expedition against the Falisci and the Capenates⁸; who, while the Romans were otherwise employed, committed considerable depredations in their territories, and harassed them during the whole Tuscan war. But Camillus falling upon them slew immense numbers, and shut up the rest within their walls.

During the heat of the war, a phenomenon occurred in the Alban lake, which might be reckoned among the strangest of prodigies: and as no common or natural cause could be assigned for it⁹, it oc-

⁶ Of the six military tribunes of that year, only two, L. Virginus and Manius Sergius, carried on the siege of Veii. Sergius commanded the attack, and Virginus covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the Falisci and the Capenates fell upon Sergius, and at the same time the besieged sallying out attacked him on the other side. The Romans under his command, thinking that they had all the forces of Etruria to deal with, began to lose courage and retire. Virginus could have saved his colleague's troops; but, as Sergius was too proud to send to him for succour, he resolved not to give him any. The enemy therefore, made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans in their lines. (Liv. v. 8.)

⁷ A. U. C. 357.

⁸ Livy (v. 14.) says that Valerius Potitus, then military tribune for the fifth time, attacked and defeated the Falisci, and Camillus the Capenates, with great slaughter and pillage.*

⁹ The moderns, from the improved state of physics, have succeeded better. Strabo indeed, in the age of Augustus, could have

casioned great consternation. The summer was declining, and the season by no means rainy, or remarkable for south-winds; of the many springs, brooks, and lakes, with which Italy abounds, some were dried up, and others but feebly resisted the drought; the rivers, always low in the summer, at that particular time ran with a very slender stream: when the Alban lake, which has it's source within itself and discharges no part of it's water, being quite surrounded with solid mountains, without any cause (unless it were a supernatural one) began to rise and swell in a most remarkable manner, increasing till it reached the sides and at last the very tops of the hills, all which happened without any agitation of it's waters. For a while, it was the wonder of the shepherds and herdsmen: but when the earth, which like a mole kept it from overflowing the country below, was broken down with the quantity and weight of water, then descending like a torrent through the ploughed fields and other cultivated grounds to the sea, it not only astonished the Romans, but was thought by all Italy to portend some extraordinary event. It was the principal subject of conversation in the camp before Veii, so that it at last reached the ears of the besieged.

As during long sieges there is usually some intercourse with the enemy, it happened that a Roman soldier had formed an acquaintance with one of the townsmen, a man versed in ancient traditions, and supposed to be more than ordinarily skilled in divination. The Romans, perceiving that he expressed great satisfaction at the story of the lake and laughed at the siege, told him, " This was not the only wonder which the times had produced, but other
" prodigies still stranger had happened to the Ro-
" mans: which he should be glad to communicate

helped them to a solution, in his comments on the Fucine lake (v.). But every thing new was 'a prodigy' with the ancients. This water is now called 'the Lake of Castle Gandolfo.'*

“ to him, if by those means he could provide for
 “ his own safety in the midst of the public ruin.”
 The man, readily hearkening to the proposal, came
 out to him, expecting to hear some secret; and the
 Roman continued the discourse, drawing him for-
 ward by degrees, till they were at some distance
 from the gates. He then snatched him up in his
 arms, and by his superior strength held him, till with
 the assistance of several soldiers from the camp he
 was secured and carried before the generals. The
 man reduced to this necessity, and knowing that
 destiny cannot be avoided, declared the secret
 oracles concerning his own country; “ That the city
 “ could never be taken till the waters of the Alban
 “ lake, which had now forsaken their bed and found
 “ new passages, were turned back and so diverted,
 “ as to be prevented from mixing with the sea.”¹⁰

The senate, to whom intelligence of this predic-
 tion was conveyed, after some deliberation were of
 opinion that it would be best to send to Delphi to
 consult the oracle. For this purpose they chose
 three persons of honour and distinction, Licinius
 Cossus, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus;
 who, having had a prosperous voyage and consulted
 Apollo, returned with this among other answers,
 “ That they had neglected some ceremonies in the
 “ Latin Feasts.”¹¹ As to the water of the Alban

¹⁰ The prophecy, according to Livy (v. 15.), was this, ‘ Veii shall never be taken, till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba.’ (L.)

The Roman historian has been much more minute, and natural, in his account of this event. See also Cic. de Div. i. 44.

The senate were, reasonably enough, apprehensive of the interpretation suggested by an enemy:

—*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* (Virg. Æn.)*

¹¹ This festival, one of the most dignified in the Roman calendar, was instituted by Tarquin the Proud (see Dion. Halic. iv. 11.). The Romans presided in it; but all the people of Latium were to attend, and to partake of a bull then sacrificed to Jupiter Latialis. (L.) Its duration was gradually extended from one day to four. Id. vi. 11., Liv. vi. 12, &c. This however was not at any fixed

lake they were ordered if possible to shut it up in its ancient bed; or if that could not be effected, to dig canals and trenches for it, till it should have lost itself on the land. Agreeable to this direction, the priests were employed in offering sacrifices, and the people in labouring to turn the course of the water ¹².

In the tenth year of the siege, the senate removed the other magistrates and appointed Camillus dictator ¹³, who chose Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse. In the first place he made vows to the gods, if they favoured him with putting a glorious period to the war, to celebrate the great Circensian games to their honour ¹⁴, and to consecrate the temple of the goddess, whom the Romans call 'the mother Matuta.' This last, by her sacred rites, we may suppose to have been the goddess Leucothea. For they take a female slave into the inner part of the temple ¹⁵, where they beat her and then drive her out: they carry their brothers' children in their arms, instead of their own ¹⁶; and they represent in the ceremonies of the sacrifice all that happened to the nurses of Bacchus, and what Ino suffered for having saved the son of Juno's rival.

time, but varied at the pleasure of the consuls; and hence the name of *feriæ conceptivæ*.*

¹² This wonderful work still subsists, and the waters of the lake Albano run through it.

¹³ A. U. C. 358. This nomination (says Livy, v. 19.) produced a wonderful revolution, in the public feeling, from despondency to confidence.*

¹⁴ These were a kind of tournament in the Great Circus, first instituted by the dictator Posthumus, after his engagement with the Latins at the lake Regillus. For their ceremonies, see Dion. Halic. vii. 13.*

¹⁵ Leucothœe or Ino, the same with Matuta, was jealous of one of her female slaves, who was the favourite of her husband Athamas.

¹⁶ Ino was a very unhappy mother; for she had seen her son Learchus slain by her husband, upon which she threw herself into the sea with her other son Melicertes. But she was a more fortunate aunt, having preserved Bacchus, the son of her sister Semele by the universal debaucher Jove. See Ovid, Fast. vi. 559., &c.

After these vows, Camillus penetrated into the country of the Falisci, and in a general battle overthrew them and their auxiliaries the Capenates. He then turned to the siege of Veii; and perceiving it would be both difficult and dangerous to endeavour to take it by assault, he ordered mines to be dug, the soil about the city being easy to work, and admitting of depth enough for the works to be carried on unseen by the enemy. As this succeeded to his wish, he made an assault without, to call the enemy to the walls; while others of his soldiers passed along the mines, and secretly penetrated to Juno's temple in the citadel. This was the most considerable temple in the city, and at that instant (we are told) the Tuscan general happened to be sacrificing; when the soothsayer, upon inspection of the entrails, cried out, "The gods promise victory to him, that shall finish this sacrifice ¹⁷." The Romans who were under ground, hearing what he said, immediately burst through the pavement, and came out with loud shouts and clashing of arms: this struck the enemy with such terror, that they fled and left the entrails, which were carried to Camillus. But perhaps this has more the air of fable, than of history ¹⁸.

The city thus taken by the Romans sword in hand, while they were busy in plundering it and carrying off it's immense riches, Camillus beholding from the citadel what was done, at first burst into tears: and, when those about him began to magnify his happiness, he lifted up his hands toward heaven,

¹⁷ Words spoken by persons unconcerned in their affairs, and upon a quite different subject, were interpreted by the heathens as good or bad omens, if they happened to be in any way applicable to their case. And they took great pains to fulfil the omen, if they thought it lucky, as well as to evade it, if it appeared unlucky.

¹⁸ Livy's reflection upon this occasion is as modest, as it is just; *Sed, in rebus tam antiquis si quæ similia veri sunt pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam: hæc, ad ostentationem scenæ gaudentis mirandis aptiora quam ad fidem, neque affirmare neque refellere operæ pretium est.* (v. 21.)*

and uttered this prayer; "Great Jupiter, and ye
 " gods that have the inspection of our good and
 " evil actions, ye know that the Romans not with-
 " out just cause, but in their own defence, and con-
 " strained by necessity, have made war against this
 " city and their enemies it's unjust inhabitants. If
 " we must have some misfortune in lieu of this suc-
 " cess, I entreat that it may fall not upon Rome or
 " the Roman army, but upon myself: yet lay not,
 " ye gods, a heavy hand upon me!" Having
 pronounced these words, he turned to the right, as
 the manner of the Romans is after prayer and sup-
 plication, but fell in turning. His friends, who were
 present, expressed much uneasiness at the accident;
 but he soon recovered himself from the fall, and told
 them, "It was only a small inconvenience after
 " great success, agreeably to his prayer."

After the city was pillaged, he determined, pur-
 suant to his vow, to remove this statue of Juno to
 Rome. The workmen²⁰ were assembled for the pur-
 pose, and he offered sacrifice to the goddess, be-
 seeching her "to accept their homage, and gra-
 " ciously to take up her abode among the gods of

¹⁹ Livy, who has given us this prayer, has not qualified it with the modification so unworthy of Camillus, εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἐλαχίστην κακὴν τελευτήσκει, 'may it be with as little detriment as possible to myself!' On the contrary, he says, *ut eam invidiam lenire suo privato incommodo, quam minimo publico populi Romani liceret*. Camillus prayed that, 'if this success must have an equivalent in some ensuing misfortune, that misfortune might fall upon himself, and the Roman people escape with as little detriment as possible.' This was heroic. Plutarch, having but an imperfect knowledge of the Roman language, probably attached the *quam minimo* to the wrong clause: and hence the explication subjoined of his subsequent accident, which both Livy and Val. Max. (i. 5.) considered as the presage of his political fall.

²⁰ These were not common labourers, whose touch would have profaned this celebrated idol (Liv. v. 22.), but elegant young men selected from the whole body of the army, who underwent previous purification, and approached her clothed in white with every possible demonstration of reverence. Livy nowhere says, that Camillus 'touched' the statue. Hence, as well as from the mistake mentioned in the last note, it seems probable that Plutarch quoted him from memory.*

“Rome.” To which, it is said, the statue softly answered, “She was willing and ready to do it.” But Livy informs us that Camillus, in offering up his petition, touched the image of the goddess, and implored her to go with them; and that some of the by-standers replied, “She consented, and would willingly follow them.” Those who support and defend the miracle, have the fortune of Rome on their side, which could never have risen from such small and contemptible beginnings to such a height of glory and empire, without the constant assistance of some god, favouring them with many considerable tokens of his presence. Several miracles of a similar nature are also alleged: as, that images have often sweated; that they have been heard to groan; and that sometimes they have turned from their votaries, and shut their eyes. Many such accounts we have from the ancients: and not a few persons of our own times have recorded wonderful stories, deserving of notice. But to give entire credit to them, or altogether to disbelieve them, is equally dangerous on account of human weakness; which has no certain limits or power of self-control, but falls sometimes into vain superstition, and sometimes into an impious neglect of all religion. It is best to be cautious, and to avoid extremes²¹.

Whether it were, that Camillus was elated with his exploit in taking a city the rival of Rome, after it had been besieged ten years, or that he was misled by his flatterers, he took upon him too much state for a magistrate subject to the laws and usages of his country: for his triumph was conducted with excessive pomp, and he rode through Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which no general

²¹ Addison seems to have had this passage in his eye, when he delivered his opinion concerning the doctrine of witches. (L.) If Plutarch any where appears superstitious, we must recollect in his excuse, that on his return to Chæroneæ he was consecrated a priest of Apollo. For such a functionary, he appears to have been wonderfully free from prejudices.*

ever did before or after him. This kind of carriage indeed is esteemed sacred, and is appropriated to the king and father of the gods²². The citizens, therefore, considered this unusual appearance of grandeur as an insult upon them. Besides, they were offended at his opposing the law, by which the city was to be divided. For their tribunes had proposed, that the senate and the people should be divided into two equal parts; one part to remain at Rome, and the other (as the lot happened to fall) to remove to the conquered city; by which means they would not only have more room, but by possessing two considerable cities be better able to defend their territories, and to watch over their prosperity. The people, who were very numerous and enriched by the late plunder, constantly assembled in the Forum, and in a tumultuous manner demanded to have it put to the vote. But the senate and the other principal citizens considered this proposal of the tribunes as less the dividing than the destroying of Rome²³, and in their uneasiness applied to Camillus. Camillus was afraid of contesting the matter, and therefore invented demurs and pretences of delay, to prevent the bill's being offered to the people, by which he incurred their displeasure.

But the strongest and most obvious cause of their hatred was, his behaviour with respect to the tenths of the spoils: and, if the resentment of the people was not in this case altogether just, yet it had some show of reason. He had made a vow (it seems) as he marched to Veii, that if he took the city, he would consecrate the tenths to Apollo. But when the city was taken and came to be pillaged, he was

²² Livy says, that he enjoyed this equipage jointly with Apollo. (v. 23.) Coaches and six, it would appear, were unknown to the Romans.* Camillus likewise coloured his face with vermilion, the colour with which the statues of the gods were commonly painted. (L.)

²³ They feared, that two such cities would by degrees become two different states, which after destructive wars with each other would at length fall a prey to their common enemies.

either unwilling to interrupt his men, or in the hurry forgot his vow, and so gave them up the whole plunder. After he had resigned his dictatorship, he laid the case before the senate: and the soothsayers declared, that the sacrifices announced the anger of the gods, which ought to be appeased by offerings expressive of their gratitude for the favours they had received. The senate then made a decree, that the plunder should remain with the takers, for they knew not how to manage it otherwise; but that each should produce, upon oath, the tenth of the value of what he had gotten. This was a great hardship on the soldiers; and those poor fellows could not without force be brought to refund so large a portion of the fruit of their labours, and to make good not only what they had hardly earned, but had now actually spent. Camillus distressed with their complaints, for want of a better excuse, made use of a very absurd apology, by acknowledging that he had forgotten his vow. This they deeply resented, that having then vowed the tenths of the enemies' goods, he should now exact the tenths of those of the citizens. They all however produced their proportion, and it was resolved that a vase of massy gold should be made and sent to Delphi. But as there was a scarcity of gold in the city, while the magistrates were considering how to procure it, the Roman matrons met, and having consulted among themselves gave up their golden ornaments, which weighed eight talents, as an offering to the god. And the senate, in honour of their piety, decreed that thenceforth they should have funeral orations as well as the men, which had not been the custom before²¹. They then

²¹ The matrons had the value of the gold paid to them: and it was not upon this occasion but afterward, when they contributed their golden ornaments to make up the sum demanded by the Gauls, that funeral orations were granted them (see Liv. v. 50.) The privilege, with which they were now favoured was, leave to ride in chariots (*pilenta*) at the public games and sacrifices, and in open carriages of a less honourable sort (*carpenta*), upon other occasions, in the streets (ib. 25).

sent three of the chief of the nobility ambassadors, in a large ship well manned, and fitted out in a manner becoming so solemn an occasion.

In this voyage, they were equally endangered by a storm, and by a calm; but escaped, beyond all expectation, when on the brink of destruction. For the wind slackening near the Æolian²⁵ islands, the galleys of the Lipareans gave them chase as pirates. Upon their stretching out their hands indeed for mercy, the Lipareans used no violence to their persons; but towed the ship into harbour, and there exposed both them and their goods to sale, having first adjudged them to be a lawful prize. With much difficulty, however, they were persuaded to release them, out of regard to the merit and authority of Timesitheus the chief magistrate of the place; who, moreover, conveyed them in his own vessels, and assisted in dedicating the gift. For this, suitable honours were paid him at Rome²⁶.

And now the tribunes of the people attempted once more to bring forward the law, for removing part of the citizens to Veii; but the war with the Falisci very seasonably intervening threw the management of the elections into the hands of the patricians, and they nominated Camillus a military tribune²⁷, together with five others; as affairs then required a general of considerable dignity, reputation, and experience. When the people had confirmed this nomination, Camillus marched his forces into the country of the Falisci, and laid siege to Falerii, a city well fortified and provided in all respects for the war. This he was sensible was likely to be no easy affair,

²⁵ The islands (*hodie* Lipari) lying between Italy and Sicily; so called, as being the supposed residence of Æolus and his winds. Here too, from their volcanic character, the ancients placed the forge of 'the Blacksmith of the Gods.'*

²⁶ Livy, with venial nationality, thinks he pays him one of the highest, when he calls him *Romanis vir similior quam suis*. The other remunerations, he adds, were *hospitium cum eo S. C. factum, donaque publicè data*. (v. 28.)*

²⁷ A. U. C. 361.

nor soon to be despatched, which was one reason for his engaging in it; for he was desirous to keep the citizens employed abroad, that they might have no leisure to sit down at home, and raise tumults and seditions: a remedy, to which the Romans always had recourse, like good physicians, in order to expel dangerous humours from the body politic.

The Falerians, trusting to the fortifications with which they were surrounded, made so little account of the siege, that the inhabitants (except those, who guarded the walls) walked the streets in their common habits. The boys likewise went to school, and the master took them out to walk and exercise about the walls. For the Falerians, like the Greeks, chose to have their children bred at one public school, that they might betimes be accustomed to uniformity of discipline, and form themselves to friendship and society.

This schoolmaster then, designing to betray the Falerians by means of their children, took them every day out of the city to exercise; keeping pretty close to the walls at first, and when their exercise was over, leading them back again. By degrees he took them out farther, accustoming them to divert themselves freely, as if they had nothing to apprehend. At last, having got them all together, he brought them to the Roman advanced guard, and delivered them up to be carried to Camillus. When he came into his presence, he told him, “He was
“ the schoolmaster and tutor of Falerii; but, pre-
“ ferring the favour of Camillus to the obligations
“ of duty, he came to surrender to him those chil-
“ dren, and in them the whole city.” This action appeared to Camillus most infamous, and he said to those who were present, “War at best is a savage
“ thing, and is transacted with much violence and
“ injustice; yet even war itself has it’s laws, from
“ which men of honour will not depart; neither do
“ they so pursue victory, as to avail themselves of
“ acts of villainy and baseness. For a great general

“ should rely only upon his own virtue, and not
“ upon the treachery of others²⁸.” He then ordered the lictors to tear off the man’s clothes, to tie his hands behind him, and to furnish the boys with rods and scourges to punish the traitor, and whip him back into the city. By this time, the Falerians had discovered the schoolmaster’s treason, and the town (as might be expected) was full of lamentations for so heavy a loss; the principal inhabitants, both men and women, crowding about the walls and the gate like persons distracted; when they espied the boys whipping forward their master, naked and bound, and calling Camillus “ their god, their deliverer, “ and their father.” At this spectacle not only the parents of those children, but all the citizens in general, were struck with admiration; and conceived such an affection for the justice of Camillus, that they immediately assembled in council, and despatched deputies to surrender to him both themselves and their city.

Camillus sent them to Rome; and, when they were introduced to the senate, they said, “ The
“ Romans, in preferring justice to conquest, have
“ taught us to be satisfied with submission instead of
“ liberty. At the same time we declare, that we do
“ not think ourselves so much inferior to you in
“ strength as in virtue.” The senate referred the suggesting and settling of the articles of peace to Camillus, who contented himself with receiving a sum of money from the Falerians; and, having entered into an alliance with the whole nation of the Falisci, returned to Rome.

But the soldiers who expected to have had the plundering of Falerii, when they came back empty-handed, accused Camillus to their fellow-citizens as an enemy of the plebeians, and one that invidiously thwarted the interests of the poor. And

²⁸ Compare with this speech that, which is given upon the same occasion by Livy (v. 27.)*

when the tribunes again proposed the law for transplanting part of the citizens to Veii²⁹, and summoned the people to give their votes, Camillus spoke very freely or rather with much asperity against it, appearing remarkably violent in his opposition to the people; who upon this lost their object, but conceived a deepened resentment against Camillus. Even his family-misfortune, in losing one of his sons, did not in the least mitigate their rage; though, as a man of great goodness and tenderness of heart, he was inconsolable for his loss, and shut himself up at home, a close mourner with the women, at the very time that they were lodging an impeachment against him.

His accuser was Lucius Apuleius, who brought against him a charge of fraud with respect to the Tuscan spoils; alleging that certain brasen gates, a part of those spoils, were found in his possession. The people were so much exasperated, that it was obvious they would seize any pretext to condemn him. He therefore assembled his friends, his colleagues, and his fellow-soldiers, a great number in all; and entreated that they would not suffer him to be crushed by false and unjust accusations, and exposed to the scorn of his enemies. When they had consulted together, and fully considered the affair, they answered, that they did not believe it possible to prevent the sentence; but that they would willingly assist him to pay the fine, which might be laid upon him. He could not however bear the thoughts of such an indignity, and giving way to his resentment, determined to quit the city

²⁹ The patricians carried it by a majority of one tribe. And they were now so well pleased with the people, that the very next morning a decree was passed, assigning six acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition. On the other hand the people, delighted with this liberality, allowed the electing of consuls instead of military tribunes. (L.) Livy gives the particulars with much more detail. (v. 30.)*

as a voluntary exile. Having taken leave of his wife and children, he went in silence from his house to the gate of the city³⁰. There he stopped, and turning about stretched out his hands toward the Capitol, and prayed to the gods, "That if he was
 " driven out without any fault of his own, and
 " merely by the violence or envy of the people, the
 " Romans might quickly repent it, and express to
 " all the world their need of Camillus and their
 " regret for his absence."

When he had thus, like Achilles³¹, uttered his imprecations against his countrymen, he departed; and, leaving his cause undefended, was condemned to pay a fine of fifteen thousand Ases. This, reduced to Grecian money, is fifteen hundred drachmas: for the As (a small coin) is the tenth part of a piece of silver, thence called Denarius, answering to our drachma. There is not a man in Rome, who does not believe that these imprecations of Camillus had their effect; though the punishment of his countrymen for their injustice proved in no respect agreeable to him, but on the contrary, matter of lamentation. Yet how great, how memorable was that punishment! How remarkably did vengeance pursue the Romans! What danger, destruction, and disgrace, did those times bring upon the city! Whether it were the work of fortune, or whether it be the office of some deity to see that virtue shall not be oppressed by the ungrateful with impunity³².

The first token of the approaching calamities, was

³⁰ This was four years after the taking of Falerii, A. U. C. 364.

³¹ Under the influence of strong resentment, and in this instance alone foregoing the distinguished patriotism of his character.*

³² It was the goddess Nemesis, whom the heathens believed to have the office of punishing evil actions in this world, particularly pride and ingratitude. (L.) With reference to this conviction among the ancients, of the efficacious curses of the injured, Horace says,

—*Dira detestatio*
Nullá expiatur victimâ.

(Epod. v. 89.)*

the death of the censor Julius³³. For the Romans have a particular veneration for the censor, and look upon his office as sacred. A second token happened a little before the exile of Camillus. Marcus Cedicius, a man of no illustrious family indeed nor of senatorial rank, but of great probity and virtue, informed the military tribunes of a matter which deserved the utmost attention. As he was going the night before along what is called the New Road, he was addressed (he said) in a loud voice. Upon turning round he saw nobody, but heard these words in an accent more than human; "Go, Marcus Cedicius, and early in the morning acquaint the magistrates, that they must shortly expect the Gauls." The tribunes however made a jest of the information, and soon afterward ensued the disgrace of Camillus.

The Gauls are of Celtic origin³⁴, and are said to have left their country, which was too small to maintain their vast numbers, in search of another. These emigrants consisted of many thousands of young and able warriors, with a still larger number of women and children. Part of them took their route toward the northern ocean, crossed the Rhipæan mountains, and settled in the extreme parts of Europe; and part established themselves for a long time between the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones and the Celtorians³⁵. But hap-

³³ The Greek text as it now stands, instead of the 'censor Julius,' has 'the month of July,' through the error of some ignorant transcriber. Upon the death of Julius, Marcus Cornelius was appointed to succeed him: but as the censorship of the latter proved unfortunate by the capture of Rome, whenever a censor happened afterward to die in his office, they not only forbore naming another in his place, but obliged his colleague likewise to quit his dignity. (Liv. v. 31.)

³⁴ The ancients called all the inhabitants of the west and north, as far as Scythia, by the common name of 'Celtæ.'

³⁵ The country of the Senones contained Sens, Auxerre, and Troyes, as far upward as Paris. Who the Celtorii were, is not known: the word, probably, is corrupted. They are not mentioned by Livy. (v. 34, 35.)

pening to taste wine, which was then for the first time brought out of Italy, they so much admired the liquor, and were so enchanted with this new pleasure, that they seized their arms, and carrying their parents along with them, marched to the Alps³⁶, to seek the country producing such excellent fruit, in comparison with which they considered all others as barren and ungenial.

The man who first carried wine among them, and excited them to invade Italy, is said to have been Aruns a Tuscan; a person of some distinction, and not naturally disposed to mischief, but led to it by his misfortunes. He was guardian to an orphan named Lucumo³⁷, of the greatest fortune in the country, and most celebrated for beauty. Aruns had brought him up from a boy, and when grown to manhood he still continued at his house, under a pretence of enjoying his conversation. Meanwhile he and his guardian's wife had mutually corrupted each other, and for a long time the criminal commerce subsisted undiscovered. At length their passion becoming so violent, that they could neither

³⁶ Livy tells us, that Italy was known to the Gauls two hundred years before, though he does indeed mention the story of Aruns. He then proceeds to state, that the migration of the Gauls into Italy and other countries was occasioned by their numbers being too great for their old settlements; and that, the two brothers Bellovesus and Sigovesus casting lots to determine which way they should steer their course, Italy fell to Bellovesus, and Germany to Sigovesus. (L.) The former he represents as the more fortunate, because the Gauls were not insensible to the *dulcedo frugum, maximeque vini nova tum voluptas*, (v. 33.) This, however, surely does not justify the censure of Ruault, who ridicules the idea of referring the irruption of a warlike people to the exclusive allurements of wine. How beautifully has our own Gray amplified this topic!

With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and heavens of azure hue;
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

(Ethical Essay, 54.)*

³⁷ 'Lucumo' was not the name, but the title of the young man. He was Lord of 'a Lucumony.' Etruria was divided into twelve of these principalities.

restrain nor conceal it, the young man carried her off, and attempted to keep her openly. The husband endeavoured to find his redress at law, but was disappointed by the superior interest and wealth of Lucumo. He therefore quitted his own country, and having heard of the enterprising spirit of the Gauls, joined them, and conducted their armies into Italy.

In their first expedition they soon possessed themselves of that country which stretches from the Alps to both seas. That this of old belonged to the Tuscans, the names themselves are a proof: for the northern sea is called the Adriatic, from a Tuscan city named *Adria*, and that on the other side, which lies to the south, is called the *Tuscan Sea*. The whole of the country is well planted with trees, has excellent pastures, and is finely watered with rivers. It contained eighteen considerable cities, whose manufactures and trade procured them the gratifications of luxury. The Gauls expelled the Tuscans, and made themselves masters of these cities; but this was done long before.

The Gauls were now besieging *Clusium*, a city of *Tuscany*. The *Clusians* applied to the Romans, entreating them to send ambassadors and letters to the barbarians. Accordingly, they despatched three illustrious persons of the *Fabian* family, who had borne the highest employments in the state. These the Gauls received courteously, on account of the name of *Rome*; and, suspending their operations against the town, came to a conference. But when they were asked what injury they had received from the *Clusians*, that they came against their city, *Brennus* their prince laughed and said; “The injury which the *Clusians* do us, is their keeping to themselves a large tract of ground, when they can only cultivate a small one, and refusing to resign a part of it to us, who are strangers, numerous, and poor. In the same manner the Romans were injured by the *Albans*, the *Fide-*

“ nates, and the Ardeates, and lately by the people
“ of Veii and Capenæ, and the greatest part of
“ the Falisci and the Volsci. Upon these you make
“ war, if they refuse to share with you their goods ;
“ you enslave their persons, lay waste their country,
“ and demolish their cities. Neither are your pro-
“ ceedings dishonourable, or unjust ; for you follow
“ the most ancient of laws, that directing the weak
“ to obey the strong, from the Creator down even to
“ the irrational part of the creation, which are taught
“ by nature to make use of the advantage their
“ strength affords them against the feeble. Cease
“ then to express your compassion for the Clusians,
“ lest you teach the Gauls in their turn to com-
“ miserate those, who have been oppressed by the
“ Romans.”

By this answer the Romans clearly perceived, that Brennus would come to no terms : they entered therefore into Clusium, where they encouraged and animated the inhabitants to a sally against the barbarians, either to make trial of the strength of the Clusians, or to display their own. The Clusians made the sally, and a sharp conflict ensued near the walls ; when Quintus Ambustus, one of the Fabii, spurred his horse against a Gaul of extraordinary size and figure, who had advanced far before the ranks. At first he was not known, because the encounter was hot, and his armour dazzled the eyes of the beholders : but when he had overcome and killed the Gaul, and came to despoil him of his arms, Brennus recognized him, and called the gods to witness ; “ That against all the laws and usages
“ of mankind, which were esteemed the most sa-
“ cred and inviolable, Ambustus came as an em-
“ bassador, but acted as an enemy.” Upon this, he directly drew off his men, and bidding the Clusians farewell, led his army toward Rome. But that he might not seem to rejoice at the affront, or to have sought a pretext for hostilities, he sent to demand the offender in order to punish him, and in the mean time advanced slowly.

The herald being arrived, the senate was assembled, and many spoke against the Fabii; particularly the priests called *Feciales* represented the action as an offence against religion, and adjured the senate to lay the expiation of what had been done upon the person who alone was to blame, and thus to avert the wrath of Heaven from the rest of the Romans. These *Feciales* had been appointed by Numa³⁸, the mildest and most equitable of kings, as conservators of peace, as well as judges to give sanction to the just causes of war. The senate referred the matter to the people, and the priests accused Fabius with the same ardour before them; but such was the disregard which they expressed for their persons, and such their contempt of religion; that they constituted that very Fabius and his brethren military tribunes³⁹.

As soon as the Gauls were informed of this, they were much enraged, and no longer delaying their march, hastened forward with the utmost celerity. Their prodigious numbers, their glittering arms, their fury and impetuosity struck terror wherever they came: people gave up their lands for lost, not doubting that the cities would soon follow. Contrary however to all expectation, they injured no man's property: they neither pillaged the fields, nor insulted the cities; but as they passed by, cried out, "They were going to Rome, they were at war with the Romans alone, and considered all others as their friends."

While the barbarians were advancing in this vehement manner, the tribunes led out their forces to battle, in number not inferior⁴⁰ (for they consisted of forty thousand foot) but the greatest part undisci-

³⁸ See his Life, p. 188. not. (53.)

³⁹ A. U. C. 366, or (according to some chronologers) 365. (L.) M. Ricard, however, supposes that this was a compliment paid by the people to the high rank of the Fabii.*

⁴⁰ They were 'inferior in number,' for the Gauls were seventy thousand; and therefore the Romans, when they came to action, were obliged to extend their wings so as to weaken their centre, which was one reason of their being soon broken.

plined, and such as had never handled a weapon before. Besides, they paid no attention to religion, having neither propitiated the gods by sacrifice nor consulted the soothsayers, as was their duty in the time of danger and before an engagement. Another thing, which occasioned no small confusion, was the number of persons joined in the command; whereas before they had often appointed for wars of less consideration a single leader, whom they call Dictator; sensible of what consequence it is to good order and success, at a dangerous crisis, to be actuated as it were with one soul, and to have the absolute command vested in one person. Their ungrateful treatment of Camillus, likewise, was not the least unhappy circumstance; as it now appeared dangerous for the generals to use their authority, without some flattering indulgence to the people.

In this condition they marched out of the city, and encamped about eleven miles from it, on the banks of the river Allia, not far from it's confluence with the Tiber. There the barbarians attacked them; and, as the Romans engaged in a disorderly manner, they were shamefully beaten and put to flight. Their left wing was soon pushed into the river, and destroyed. The right, which quitted the field to avoid the charge, and gained the hills, did not suffer so much, many of them escaping to Rome. The rest who survived the carnage, when the enemy were satiated with blood, stole by night to Veii, concluding that Rome was lost, and it's inhabitants put to the sword.

This battle was fought at the full moon, about the summer-solstice, on the very day upon which the slaughter of the Fabii had happened long before⁴¹, when three hundred of them were cut off by the Tuscans. The second misfortune, however, so much effaced the memory of the first, that the day

⁴¹ The sixteenth of July. (L.) The Fabii fell, A. U. C. 277. This defeat happened A. U. C. 361.*

is still denominated thence ‘the day of Allia,’ from the river of that name ⁴².

As to the point, whether there be any lucky or unlucky days ⁴³, and whether or not Heraclitus were right in blaming Hesiod for having distinguished them into ‘fortunate’ and ‘unfortunate,’ as not knowing that the nature of all days is the same, it has been discussed in another place. But upon this occasion, perhaps, it may not be amiss to mention a few examples. The Bœotians, on the fifth of the month which they call Hippodromius and the Athenians Hecatombæon, gained two signal victories, both of which restored liberty to Greece; the one at Leuctra, the other at Geræstus, above two hundred years before ⁴⁴, when they defeated Lattamyas and the Thessalians. On the other hand, the Persians were beaten by the Greeks on the sixth of Boëdro-

⁴² *Hod. Torrente di Catino.* The day was expressly marked in the old Roman calendars, *DIES ALLIENSIS*.*

⁴³ The ancients deemed some days lucky and others unlucky, either from some occult power which they supposed to exist in numbers, from the nature of the deities who presided over them, or from observing fortunate and unfortunate events to have often happened upon particular days. (L.) Hesiod in his *Εργ. και Ημ.*, and after him Virgil in his *Georgics*, have (allowably, as poets,) made this unphilosophical distinction. It may appear, perhaps, somewhat singular—if any inconsistency, arising from superstition, can be so called—when we consider the first illustration adduced in the text, that both these writers should have marked the *fifth* day with a black stone; the first, in his

Πεμπίας δ' ἐξαλειψάσαι,

and the other in his

Quintam fuge.

Shall we reconcile them, by saying that these were ‘unfortunate’ days for the vanquished? This theorem would untie every knot.*

⁴⁴ The Thessalians, under the command of Lattamyas, were beaten by the Bœotians not long before the battle of Thermopylæ, and little more than *one* hundred years before the battle of Leuctra. There is also an error here in the name of the place, probably introduced by some blundering transcriber, for Plutarch must have been well acquainted with the names of places in Bœotia: instead of Geræstus, we should read Ceressus; the former was a promontory in Eubœa, the latter was a fort in Bœotia. See Pausan. ix. 14.

mion at Marathon, on the third at Plataeæ as also at Mycale, and on the twenty-sixth at Arbeli. About the full moon of the same month, the Athenians, under the conduct of Chabrias, were victorious in the sea-fight near Naxos; and on the twentieth they gained the victory of Salamis⁴⁵, as we have mentioned in the Treatise upon Days. The month Thargelion was also remarkably unfortunate to the barbarians: for in that month Alexander defeated the king of Persia's generals near the Granicus, and the Carthaginians were beaten by Timoleon in Sicily on the twenty-fourth of the same; a day still more remarkable (according to Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus) for the taking of Troy. On the contrary, the month Metageitnion, which the Bœotians call Panemus*, was very unlucky to the Greeks; for on it's seventh day they were beaten by Antipater in the battle of Cranon and utterly ruined, and before that they were defeated by Philip at Chæronea. And on the very same day and month and year the troops, which under Archidamus made a descent upon Italy, were cut to pieces by the barbarians⁴⁶. The Carthaginians have set a mark upon the twenty-second of that month, as a day that has always brought upon them the greatest of calamities. I am not ignorant, however, that about the time of the celebration of the Mysteries Thebes was demolished by Alexander; and after

⁴⁵ Here Dodwell (in his *Ann. Thucyd.*) according to M. Ricard, makes a gross mistake, while he is imputing one to Plutarch, by confounding the battle of Salamis gained over the Persian navy, A. C. 480. with one fought at Salamis in Cyprus near thirty years afterward. Ruauld has fallen into the same error.

Of the historians mentioned below, Callisthenes was a pupil of Aristotle, and fell a victim to the suspicions of his royal master, Alexander, whose Life he had written. (*Voss. de Hist. Græc.* i. 9.) Damastes was a native of Sigeum, and among other works drew up an account of the ancestry of Those, who had been at the siege of Troy. (*Id. ib.* i. 2., iv. 5.)*

* See the Life of Aristides, Vol. II. and not. (60.)*

⁴⁶ This prince was on his way to the relief of Tarentum, when he was slain at Maduria, a city near the modern Casal-Nuovo in Calabria.*

that, on the same twentieth of Boëdromion, a day sacred to the solemnities of Bacchus, the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison. On one and the same day the Romans under the command of Cæpio were stripped of their camp by the Cimbri⁴⁷, and afterward under Lucullus conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. King Attalus and Pompey the Great both died on their birth-days. And I could cite many others, who on the same day at different periods have experienced both good and bad fortune. Be that as it may, the Romans marked the day of their defeat at Allia as ‘unfortunate;’ and, as superstitious fears generally increase upon a misfortune, they not only distinguished that day as such, but also upon it’s account two others⁴⁸ in every month throughout the year. But this I have more copiously discussed in my Roman Researches.

If after so decisive a battle the Gauls had immediately pursued the fugitives, there would have been nothing to hinder the entire destruction of Rome and all that remained in it; with such terror was she struck at the return of those, who survived the battle, and so filled with confusion and distraction! But the Gauls, not imagining the victory to be so signal as it was, in the excess of their joy indulged themselves in good cheer, and shared the plunder of the camp; by which means the numbers who fled had leisure to escape, and those who remained had time to recover their spirits, and prepare for their defence. For, quitting the rest of the city, they retired to the Capitol, which they fortified with strong ramparts, and stored well with arms. But their first care was that of their holy things, most of which they conveyed into the Capitol. As for the sacred fire, the Vestals took it up together with other hallowed relics, and fled: though some assert, that

⁴⁷ In this action (A. U. C. 649) the Romans lost 80,000 men.*

⁴⁸ These were the day after the calends, and that after the ides of each month.*

they have not the charge of any thing but that ever-living fire, which Numa appointed to be worshipped as the principle of all things. It is indeed the most active thing in nature; and all generation is either motion, or at least with motion. Other parts of matter, when the heat fails, lie sluggish and dead, and crave the force of fire as an informing soul; acquiring, when that comes, some active or passive quality. Hence it was, that Numa (a man curious in his researches into nature, and on account of his wisdom supposed to have conversed with the Muses) consecrated this fire, and ordered it to be perpetually kept up, as an image of that eternal power, which preserves and actuates the universe. Others however affirm that, according to the usage of the Greeks, the fire is kept ever burning before the holy places, as an emblem of purity: but that there are other things in the most secret part of the temple, kept from the sight of all except those virgins, whom they call Vestals; and the most current opinion is that the palladium of Troy, which Æneas brought into Italy, is there repositied.

Others say, that the Samothracian gods are there concealed; whom Dardanus⁴⁹, after he had built Troy, brought to that city, and caused to be worshipped; and that after the taking of Troy Æneas privately carried them off, and kept them till he settled in Italy. But those who pretend to know most about these matters say, that two casks are placed there of a moderate size, the one open and

⁴⁹ Dardanus, who flourished in the time of Moses (about B. C. 1480) is said to have been originally of Arcadia, whence he passed to Samothrace. He afterward married Batea or Arista, the daughter of Teucer king of Phrygia. Of the Samothracian gods we have already given an account; but may add here from Macrobius that the *Dii magni*, which Dardanus brought from Samothrace, were the *penates* or 'household-gods' which Æneas subsequently conveyed into Italy. Dion. Halic. (who writes at some length upon this subject) says, he had seen the *penates* in an old temple at Rome. They were of antique workmanship, representing two young men sitting in warlike accoutrements and holding each a lance in his hand, and inscribed DENAS instead of PENAS.

empty, the other full and sealed up, but that neither of them is to be seen by any except those holy virgins. Others again think this all a mistake, originating in their having put most of their sacred utensils in two casks, and hidden them under ground in the temple of Quirinus, and that the place from those casks is still called *Doliola*⁵⁰.

They took with them however their choicest and most sacred things, and fled along the side of the river; where Lucius Albinus a plebeian, among others who were making their escape, was carrying his wife and children and some of his most necessary moveables in a waggon. But when he saw the Vestals in a helpless and weary condition, bearing in their arms the sacred symbols of the gods, he immediately took out his family and goods, and put the virgins into the waggon, that they might effect their escape to some of the Grecian cities⁵¹. This piety of Albinus, and the veneration which he expressed for the gods at so dangerous a juncture, deserve to be recorded.

As for the other priests, and the most ancient of the senators who were of consular dignity or had been honoured with triumphs, they could not bear to think of quitting the city. They therefore put on their holy vestments and robes of state, and in a form dictated by Fabius the Pontifex Maximus making their vows to the gods⁵², devoted themselves for their country. Thus attired, they sat down in their ivory chairs in the Forum⁵³, prepared for their approaching fate.

⁵⁰ Varro (de Ling. Lat. iv. 32.) assigns two other origins to this word. Festus and Livy (v. 40.) agree with Plutarch.

⁵¹ Albinus (as Livy informs us) conducted them to *Cære*, a city of *Hetruria*, where they met with a favourable reception, and some of the Roman priesthood, who had likewise fled thither for refuge. The vestals remained a considerable time at *Cære*, and there performed the usual rites of religion; whence those rites were called 'Ceremonies.'

⁵² The Romans believed that, by these voluntary consecrations to the infernal gods, disorder and confusion were brought among the enemy.

⁵³ These ivory, or curule, chairs were used only by those who

The third day after the battle, Brennus arrived with his army; and finding the gates of the city opened and the walls destitute of guards, felt at first some apprehension of a stratagem or ambuscade, for he could not think the Romans had so entirely resigned themselves to despair. But, when he found it to be so in reality, he entered by the Colline gate and took Rome, a little more than three hundred and sixty years after it's foundation; if it be likely that any exact account has been kept of those times⁵⁴, the confusion of which has occasioned so much obscurity in things of a later date.

Some uncertain rumours however, of Rome's being taken, appear to have quickly passed into Greece. For Heraclides of Pontus⁵⁵, who lived not long after these times, in his Treatise upon the Soul mentions an account brought from the west that an army of Hyperborcans had taken a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere near the great sea. But I do not wonder that such a fabulous writer as Heraclides should embellish his account of the tak-

had borne the most honourable offices, and the persons who had a right to sit in them carried also ivory-staves.

⁵⁴ Livy informs us (vi. 1.) that the Romans of those times did not much apply themselves to writing, and that the commentaries of the Pontifices, and their other monuments both public and private, were destroyed when the city was burned by the Gauls.

⁵⁵ He lived at that very time: for he was at first the pupil of Plato, and afterward of Aristotle; and Plato was but forty-one years old, when Rome was taken. (L.) The little noise, which this event made in Greece, abundantly proves that the intercourse between the two countries at that period must have been very inconsiderable. But the times were hastening on, when Greece was to exchange her sceptre for a ferula, and to acknowledge and refine her conqueror. M. Ricard justly reproaches Plutarch for his undue severity toward Heraclides. 'Hyperborean' (used likewise by Strabo) simply implies people far to the north: and 'the great sea,' among those to whom the ocean was unknown, accurately distinguished the Mediterranean from the Euxine. Heraclides however, though right in this, might be a writer of fables: so was Herodotus, and so were the ancient historians of almost all countries, for this obvious reason, they had little more than tradition to write from. Aristotle's mistake in the prænomen of Camillus was hardly worth noticing.*

ing of Rome with the pompous terms of ‘Hyperboreans,’ and ‘the great sea.’ Aristotle the philosopher had certainly heard, that Rome was taken by the Gauls: but he calls it’s deliverer Lucius; whereas Camillus was not called Lucius, but Marcus. These authors had no better authority, than conjectural report.

Brennus, thus in possession of Rome, set a strong guard about the Capitol, and himself went down through the Forum; where he was struck with amazement at the sight of so many men seated in great state and silence, who neither rose up at the approach of their enemies, nor changed countenance or colour, but leaned on their staves, and sate looking upon each other without fear or concern. The Gauls astonished at so surprising a spectacle, and regarding them as superior beings, for a long time were afraid to approach or touch them. At last one of them ventured to go near Manius Papirius, and advancing his hand gently stroked his beard, which was very long: upon which Papirius struck him on the head with his staff, and wounded him. The barbarian then drew his sword, and killed him. After this, the Gauls fell upon the rest and slew them, and continuing their rage despatched all that came in their way, pillaged and destroyed the houses for many days together, and at last set fire to the city and demolished what escaped the flames, to express their indignation against those in the Capitol, who obeyed not their summons but made a vigorous defence, and greatly annoyed the besiegers from the walls. This it was, that provoked them to destroy the city, and to massacre all that fell into their hands, without sparing either sex or age.

As from the length of the siege provisions began to fail the Gauls⁵⁶, they divided their forces; and

⁵⁶ Not anticipating this siege, the improvident barbarians had, with the city, consumed all the grain and other provisions which it contained; and the country stock had been conveyed to Veii. (Liv. v. 42.)*

part remained with the king before that fortress, while part foraged the country, and laid waste the towns and villages. Their success had inspired them with such confidence, that they did not keep in a body, but carelessly rambled about in different troops and parties. It happened that the largest and best-disciplined corps went against Ardea, where Camillus since his exile had lived in absolute retirement. This great event, however, roused him into action; and his mind was employed in contriving, not how to keep himself concealed and to avoid the Gauls, but if an opportunity should offer, to attack them with success. Perceiving that the Ardeates were deficient, not in numbers, but in courage and discipline, (which was owing to the inexperience and inactivity of their officers) he applied first to the young men and told them, that “ They ought not to ascribe the defeat of the Romans to the valour of the Gauls, or to consider the calamities which they had suffered in the midst of their infatuation as brought upon them by men who in fact could not claim the merit of the victory, but as the work of fortune. That it would be glorious, although they risked something by it, to repel a foreign and barbarous enemy, whose end in conquering was like fire to destroy what he subdued: but that, if they would assume a proper spirit, he would give them an opportunity to conquer without any hazard at all.” Finding the young men pleased with his discourse, he went next to the magistrates and senate of Ardea; and having persuaded them also to adopt his scheme, he armed all that were of a proper age for it, and drew them up within the walls; that the enemy who were only at a small distance, might not know what he was about.

The Gauls having scoured the country, and loaded themselves with plunder, encamped upon the plains in a careless and disorderly manner. Night found them intoxicated with wine, and silence reigned in the camp. As soon as Camillus was in-

formed of this by his spies, he led the Ardeates out, and, having passed the intermediate space without noise, reached their camp about midnight. He then ordered a loud shout to be set up, and the trumpets to sound on all sides, to cause the greater confusion; but it was with difficulty that they recovered themselves from their sleep and intoxication. A few, whom fear had made sober, snatched up their arms to oppose Camillus, and fell with their weapons in their hands: but the chief part of them, buried in sleep and wine, were surprised unarmed, and easily despatched. A small number, who had escaped out of the camp in the night and wandered in the fields, were chased next day by the cavalry, and put to the sword.

The fame of this action, soon reaching the neighbouring cities, drew out many of their ablest warriors. Particularly such of the Romans, as had escaped from the battle of Allia to Veii, thought with deep concern, "What a general has heaven
" taken from Rome in Camillus, to adorn the Ar-
" deates with his exploits: while the city, which
" produced and brought up so eminent a man, is
" absolutely ruined; and we for want of a leader sit
" idle within the walls of a strange place, and betray
" the liberties of Italy. Let us send then to the
" Ardeates to demand our general, or else take our
" weapons and go to him: for he is no longer an
" exile, nor we citizens, having no country but
" what is in the possession of an enemy."

This motion was adopted, and they sent to Camillus to entreat him to accept the command. But he answered, he could not do it, before he was legally appointed to it by the Romans in the Capitol⁵⁷. For he looked upon them, while they were in being, as

⁵⁷ Livy says, the Roman soldiers at Veii applied to the remains of the senate in the Capitol for leave, before they offered the command to Camillus. So much regard had those brave men for the constitution of their country, though Rome then lay in ashes! Every private man was, indeed, a patriot.

the commonwealth, and would readily obey their orders; but, without them, he would not be so officious as to interpose.

They admired the modesty and honour of Camillus, but they knew not how to send the proposal to the Capitol. It seemed indeed impossible for a messenger to pass into the citadel, while the enemy were in possession of the city. At last a young man named Pontius Cominius, not distinguished by his birth but enamoured of honour and glory, readily took upon him the commission. He carried no letters however to the citizens in the Capitol, lest if he should happen to be taken, the enemy should by them discover the intentions of Camillus. Having dressed himself in mean attire, under which he concealed some pieces of cork, he travelled all day without fear, and approached the city as it grew dark. He could not pass the river by the bridge, because that was guarded by the Gauls: he therefore took his clothes, which were neither many nor heavy, and bound them about his head; and having laid himself upon the pieces of cork, easily floated over and reached the city. Then avoiding those quarters where, by the lights and noise, he concluded they kept watch, he went to the Carmental gate where there was the greatest silence, and where the hill of the Capitol is the steepest and most craggy. Up this he clambered unperceived, by a way the most difficult and dreadful, and advanced near the guards upon the walls. After he had hailed them and told them his name, they received him with joy, and conducted him to the magistrates.

The senate was presently assembled, and he acquainted them with the victory of Camillus (which they had not learned before) as well as with the proceedings of the soldiers at Veii, and exhorted them to confirm Camillus in the command, as the citizens out of Rome would not obey any other. Having heard his report and consulted together, they declared Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back the

same way he came. He was equally fortunate in his return; for he passed the enemy undiscovered, and delivered to the Romans at Veii the decree of the senate, which they received with pleasure.

Camillus upon his arrival found twenty thousand of them in arms, to whom he added a greater number of the allies, and prepared to attack the enemy. Thus was he appointed the second time dictator; and, having placed himself at the head of the Romans and confederates, he marched out against the Gauls.

In the mean while, some of the barbarians employed in the siege, happening to pass by the place where Pontius had made his way by night to the Capitol, observed many traces of his feet and hands, as he had worked himself up the rock, torn off what grew there, and thrown down the mold. Of this they informed the king, who coming and viewing it, for the present said nothing; but in the evening he assembled the lightest and most active of his men, who were the likeliest to climb any difficult height, and thus addressed them: "The enemy have themselves shown us a way to reach them, of which we were ignorant, and have proved that this rock is neither inaccessible nor untrodden by human feet. What a shame would it be then, after having made a beginning, not to finish; and to quit the place as impregnable, when the Romans themselves have taught us how to take it! Where it was easy for one man to ascend, it cannot be difficult for many to do it in succession; nay, should many attempt it together, they will find considerable advantage in assisting each other. I shall bestow adequate rewards and honours upon such, as shall distinguish themselves on this occasion."

The Gauls readily embraced the king's proposal, and about midnight a number of them together began to climb the rock in silence, which though steep and craggy proved more practicable and accessible

than they had expected. The foremost having gained the top arranged themselves in order, and were just ready to take possession of the wall, and to fall upon the guards who were fast asleep; for neither man nor dog had perceived their coming. There were some sacred geese, however, kept near Juno's temple⁵⁸, which had hitherto been plentifully fed; but at this time, as corn and other provisions scarcely sufficed for the men, were neglected and in poor condition. This animal is naturally quick of hearing, and soon alarmed by any noise; and as hunger kept them waking and uneasy, they immediately perceived the coming of the Gauls, and running at them with much noise, awoke all the guards. The barbarians now, perceiving they were discovered, advanced with loud shouts and the utmost fury. The Romans in haste snatched up such weapons as came to hand, and strenuously exerted themselves upon this sudden emergency. Foremost of all, Manlius a man of consular dignity, remarkable for his strength and extraordinary courage, engaged two Gauls at once, and as one of them was lifting up his battle-ax, with his sword cut off his right-hand; at the same time he thrust the boss of his shield in the face of the other, and dashed him down the precipice. Thus standing upon the rampart, with those who had come to his assistance and fought by his side, he drove back the rest of the Gauls that had climbed up, who were not many in number, and who performed nothing worthy of such a daring attempt. The Romans having thus escaped the danger that threatened them, as soon as it was light, threw the officer on guard down the rock among the enemy;

⁵⁸ Geese were ever afterward held in honour at Rome, and a flock of them always maintained at the public expense. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of those patriots, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter finely adorned; while dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, and one of the species annually impaled upon a branch of elder. (Plin. et Plut. *de Fort Rom.*)

and decreed Manlius a reward for his victory, which had more of honour in it however than of profit⁵⁹: for every man gave him what he had for one day's allowance, which was half a pound of bread and a quartern of the Greek Cotyle.

After this, the Gauls began to lose courage: for provisions were scarce, and they could not forage from fear of Camillus⁶⁰. Sickness likewise prevailed among them, which took its rise from the heaps of dead bodies, and from their encamping amidst the rubbish of the demolished houses; the ashes, when raised by the winds or heated by the sun, from their dry and acrid quality so corrupting the air that respiration was pernicious. But what affected them most was, the change of climate; for they had lived in countries abounding with shades and agreeable shelters from the heat, and were now amidst grounds that were low and unhealthy in autumn⁶¹. All this, together with the length and tediousness of the siege, which had lasted more than six months, caused such desolation among them, and carried off such numbers, that the carcasses lay unburied.

The besieged, however, were in not much better condition. Famine which now pressed them hard, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing, caused no small dejection: for the barbarians guarded the city with so much care, that it was impossible to send him any messenger. Both sides being thus equally discouraged, the advanced guards first began to talk of treating. As the motion was approved by those who had the chief direction of affairs, Sul-

⁵⁹ In the existing scarcity, however, even the profit of such a contribution must have been considerable.*

⁶⁰ Camillus, being master of the country, posted strong guards on all the roads, and in effect besieged the besiegers.

⁶¹ The atmosphere of Rome was always unwholesome in this season. Horace complains of the

—*plumbeus Auster,*
Autumnusque gravis, Libitinæ quæstus acerba.

(Sat. II. i. 18, 19.)*

pitius, one of the military tribunes, went and conferred with Brennus; when it was agreed, that the Romans should pay a thousand pounds' weight of gold, and that the Gauls upon the receipt of it should immediately quit the city and its territories. The conditions being sworn to and the gold brought, the Gauls endeavouring to avail themselves of false weights, privately at first, and afterward openly, drew down their own side of the balance. The Romans expressing their resentment, Brennus in a contemptuous and insulting manner took off his sword, and threw it, belt and all, into the scale; and, when Sulpitius inquired what that meant, he replied, "What should it mean, but woe to the conquered?" which thenceforward became a proverbial saying⁶². Some of the Romans were highly incensed at this, and talked of returning with their gold, and enduring the utmost extremities of the siege; but others thought it better to pass by a small injury, since the indignity lay, not in paying more than was due, but in paying any thing; a disgrace, only consequent upon the necessity of the times.

While they were thus disputing with the Gauls, Camillus arrived at the gates; and being informed of what had passed, ordered the main body of his army to advance slowly and in good order, while he with a select band marched hastily up to the Romans, who all gave place and received the dictator with respect and silence. He then took the gold out of the scales, gave it to the lictors, and ordered the Gauls to remove the balance and the weights, and to depart; telling them, "it was the custom of the Romans to deliver their country with steel, not with gold." And when Brennus expressed his indignation, and complained that he had great injustice done him by this infraction of the treaty, Camillus answered, "That it was never lawfully made, neither could it be valid, without the con-

⁶² *Væ victis!*

“ sent of himself who was dictator and sole magistrate ; they had, therefore, acted without proper authority : but that they might make their proposals, now he was come, whom the laws had invested with power either to pardon the suppliant, or to punish the guilty, if proper satisfaction were not made.”

At this Brennus was still more highly incensed, and a skirmish ensued ; swords were drawn on both sides, and thrusts exchanged in a confused manner, as may easily be conceived amidst the ruins of houses and in narrow streets, where there was no room to make any regular disposition of forces. Brennus however soon recollected himself, and drew off his forces into the camp, with the loss of a small number. In the night, he ordered them to march and quit the city, and having retreated about eight miles from it, encamped upon the Gabinian road. Early in the morning Camillus came up with them, his arms dazzling the sight, and his men full of spirit. A sharp engagement ensued, which lasted a long time ; at length the Gauls were routed with great slaughter, and their camp taken. Some of the fugitives were killed in the pursuit ; but the chief part of them were cut in pieces by the people in the neighbouring towns and villages, who fell upon them as they were dispersed⁶³.

Thus was Rome strangely taken, and more strangely recovered, after it had been seven months in the possession of the barbarians : for they entered it a little after the Ides (the fifteenth) of July, and were driven out about the Ides (the thirteenth) of

⁶³ There is reason to question the truth of the latter part of this story. Plutarch copied it from Livy. But Polybius represents the Gauls as having actually received the gold from the Romans, and returned in safety to their own country ; and this is confirmed by Justin, Suetonius, and even by Livy himself in another part of his history (x. 16.) (L) M. Ricard however, in his *Life of Plutarch*, though he admits that the story has an air of marvel, stands up strenuously for his author, and pleads in his vindication that it occurred in an age of marvels.*

February following. Camillus returned in triumph, as became the deliverer of his lost country and the restorer of Rome. Those, who had quitted the place before the siege with their wives and children, now followed his chariot: and they, who had been besieged in the Capitol and were nearly perishing with hunger, met and embraced them; weeping for joy at this unexpected pleasure, which they almost considered as a dream. The priests and ministers of the gods bringing back what holy things they had hidden, or privately conveyed away when they fled, afforded a most desirable spectacle to the people: and received the kindest welcome, as if the gods themselves had returned with them to Rome⁶⁴. Camillus then sacrificed to the gods, and purified the city, in a form dictated by the pontiffs. He rebuilt the former temples, and erected a new one to *Aius Loquutus*, the 'Speaker' or 'Warner,' upon the very spot where the voice from heaven announced to Marcus Ceditius in the night the coming of the barbarians. There was, indeed, no small difficulty in discovering the places where the temples had stood; but it was effected by the zeal of Camillus, and the industry of the priests.

As it was now necessary to rebuild the city, which was entirely demolished, despondency seized the multitude, and they invented pretexts of delay. They were in want of all necessary materials, and had more occasion for repose and refreshment after their sufferings, than to labour and wear themselves out, when their bodies were weak and their substance destroyed. They felt therefore a secret leaning to Veii, a city which remained entire, and was provided with every thing. This gave a handle to

⁶⁴ Among the other exclamations of the soldiers, who had the privilege (as we are informed by Dion. Halic. vii. 13. tracing it from a Grecian origin: during the procession of a triumph, of saying whatever they pleased, Camillus was called 'Romulus,' 'the Father of his country,' and 'the Second Founder of Rome.' Compliments, most abundantly deserved! *

their demagogues to harangue them, as usual, in a way agreeable to their inclinations, and made them listen to seditious speeches against Camillus: "As if, to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory, he would deprive them of a city fit to receive them, force them to pitch their tents among rubbish, and rebuild a ruin that was like one great funeral-pile; in order that he might be called not only the general and dictator, but the founder likewise of Rome, instead of Romulus, whose right he was thus superseding."

Upon this account the senate, afraid of an insurrection, would not let Camillus lay down the dictatorship within the year as he desired, though no other person had ever borne that high office more than six months. In the mean time they went about to console the people, and to gain them by caresses and kind persuasions. One while, they showed them the monuments and the tombs of their ancestors; they then put them in mind of their temples and holy places, which Romulus and Numa and the other kings had consecrated, and left in charge with them. Above all, amidst the sacred and awful symbols, they took care to make them recollect the fresh human head⁶⁵, which was found when the

⁶⁵ This prodigy happened in the reign of Tarquin the Proud, who undoubtedly must have put the head there on purpose: for in digging the foundation it was found warm and bleeding, as if just severed from the body. Upon this the Romans sent to consult a Tuscan soothsayer named Olenus Calenus, who, after vainly endeavouring to interpret the presage in favour of his own country, reluctantly acknowledged that the place where that head was found would become the capital of all Italy. (Dion. Halic. iv. 13.) (L.) Pliny (H. N. xxviii. 2.) relates this story, and says that by charms and other means the destinies of one place might be transferred to another. The Fate, indeed, of the ancients seems to have been very different from that of modern times. It was evidently under control. Achilles had the option of dying nobly before the walls of Troy, or sinking into inglorious old age on the throne of Phthia. Livy, who gives a more simple account of the matter, agrees with Dion. Halic. in deriving from this event the name of the Capitol. Arnobius (adv. gentes, vi.) says, and quotes many ancient authorities for his assertion, that the name of the man whose head was

foundations of the Capitol were dug, and which announced that place as destined to be the head of Italy. They urged the disgrace of again extinguishing the sacred fire, which the vestals had lighted since the war, and of quitting the city; whether they were to see it inhabited by strangers, or a desolate wild for flocks to feed in. In this moving manner the patricians remonstrated to the people, both in public and private; and were in their turn much affected by the distress of the multitude, who lamented their present indigence and implored them, now they were collected like the remains of a shipwreck, not to oblige them to patch up the ruins of a desolated city, when there was one entire and ready to receive them.

Camillus therefore thought proper to take the judgement of the senate in a body. And when he had exerted his eloquence⁶⁶ in favour of his native country, and others had done the same, he put it to the vote; beginning with Lucius Lucretius, whose right it was to vote first, and who was to be followed by the rest in their order. Silence was made; and as Lucretius was about to declare himself, it happened that a centurion who then commanded the day-guard, in passing the house, called with a loud voice to the ensign, "to stop and set up his standard" there, for that was the best place to stay in." These words being so seasonably uttered, at a moment when they were doubtful and anxious about the event, Lucretius gave thanks to the gods, and embraced the omen; while the rest gladly assented. A wonderful change at the same time took place in the minds of the people, who exhorted and encouraged each other to the work; and they immediately

thus discovered was Tolus Vulcentanus, and hence the place was called *Capitolium*, qu. *Caput Toli*. This, however, is not even mentioned by Varro.*

⁶⁶ To this harangue Livy assigns four entire chapters (v. 51—54.) and subjoins a remark, creditable to the Roman people, *Movisse eos tum aliâ oratione, tum eâ quæ ad religiones pertinebat, maximè dicitur.**

began to build, not in any order or upon a regular plan, but as inclination or convenience directed. From this hurry the streets were narrow and intricate, and the houses badly laid out; for both the walls of the city and the streets, we are informed, were built within the compass of a single year⁶⁷.

The persons, appointed by Camillus to explore and mark out the holy places, found all in confusion. As they were looking round the Palatium, they came to the court of Mars, where the buildings like the rest were burned and demolished by the barbarians; but, in removing the rubbish and clearing the place, they discovered under a great heap of ashes the augural staff⁶⁸ of Romulus. This staff is crooked at one end, and is called Lituus. It is used to mark out the several regions of the heavens, in any process of divination by the flight of birds, of which Romulus from his great skill in that particular made considerable use. When he was taken out of the world, the priests carefully preserved the staff from defilement, like other holy relics: and as it had now escaped the fire, when the rest were consumed, they indulged a pleasing hope, considering it as a presage that Rome would last for ever⁶⁹.

⁶⁷ This hurry was the cause of many nuisances, particularly with regard to the public sewers; which, instead of passing as before under the streets, passed now under almost every private residence. (Liv. v. 55.)*

⁶⁸ This discovery is likewise mentioned by Cicero (De Div. i. 17.), and the Lituus itself is found upon many medals, particularly those of Julius and Augustus Cæsar. To this passage Middleton finds two parallels in the history of modern Rome; the Rod of Moses, which, (he affirms) 'is still preserved, as the Romanists pretend, and shown with great devotion in one of the principal churches;' and the image of our Saviour, kept in St. John Lateran, over which the flames, it seems, had no power, though the church itself has been twice destroyed by fire! *Il questa immagine non s'abbruciò, essendo la chiesa stata abbruciata due volte!* Rom. Modern. (Letter, pp. 201, 202.)*

⁶⁹ About this time the tribunes of the people determined to impeach Q. Fabius, who had violated the law of nations, and by thus provoking the Gauls had occasioned the burning of Rome. His crime being notorious, he was summoned by C. Martius Rutilus be-

Before they had finished the laborious task of building, a new war broke out. The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Latins jointly invaded their territories, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium⁷⁰, a city in alliance with Rome. The military tribunes likewise, who commanded the army, being surrounded by the Latins near Mount Marcius, and finding their camp in extreme danger, sent to Rome to desire succours; upon which, Camillus was a third time appointed dictator.

Of this war, there are two different accounts: I begin with the fabulous one. The Latins (it is said) either seeking a pretence for quarrel, or really inclined to renew their ancient affinity with the Romans, sent to demand of them a number of free-born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in no small perplexity, as to the course which they should follow: for on one hand they were afraid of war, as they had not yet re-established themselves, nor recovered from their losses; and, on the other, they suspected that the Latins only wanted their daughters for hostages, though they coloured their design with the specious name of marriage. While they were thus embarrassed, a female slave, named Tutula⁷¹ (or as some call her, Philotis) advised the magistrates to despatch with her some of the handsomest and most genteel of the maid-servants, dressed like virgins of good families, and leave the rest to her. The magistrates, approving the expedient, chose a number of female slaves proper for her purpose, and

fore the assembly of the people, to answer for his conduct in the embassy. The criminal had reason to fear the severest punishment; but his relations gave out, that he died suddenly: an event, which generally happened, when the accused person shrunk from the shame of a public punishment.

⁷⁰ *Hod. Satri*, in Tuscany. Mount Marcius was near Lanuvium, and about ten leagues distant from Rome.*

⁷¹ In the Life of Romulus, she is called 'Tutola.' Macrobius (i. 11.) calls her 'Tutela.' (L.) Of the variations between Plutarch's former and present account of this slave, Livy, vi. 2., authorises such as occur in the latter.*

sent them richly attired to the Latin camp, which was not far from the city. At night, while the other slaves conveyed away the enemies' swords, Tutula or Philotis got up into a wild fig-tree of considerable height, and having spread a thick garment behind, to conceal her design from the Latins, held up a torch toward Rome; the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates, who alone were in the secret. For this reason the soldiers sallied out in a tumultuous manner, calling upon each other and hastened by their officers, who found it difficult to bring them into any order. They made themselves masters, however, of the entrenchments; and as the enemy not expecting any such attempt were asleep, they took the camp, and put the greatest part of them to the sword. This happened on the Nones (the seventh) of July, then called Quintilis: and upon that day they still celebrate a feast, in memory of this action. They first sally in a crowding and disorderly manner out of the city, pronouncing aloud the most familiar and common names, as Caius, Marcus, Lucius, and the like; by which they imitate the soldiers, then calling upon each other in their hurry. Next, the maid-servants walk about elegantly dressed, and jesting on all they meet. They have also a kind of engagement among themselves, to express the assistance which they gave in the engagement with the Latins. They then sit down to an entertainment, shaded with branches of the fig-tree; and that day is called *Nonæ Caprotinæ* on account of the wild fig-tree, as some suppose, from which the maid-servant held out the torch; for the Romans denominate that tree *caprificus*. Others refer most of what is said and done to the disappearance of Romulus and the darkness or tempest (or; as some imagine, eclipse) which then occurred. This happened on the same day at least, which might thence be called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*; for the Romans term a goat *Capra*, and Romulus (as we have related in his Life) vanished out of sight,

while he was holding an assembly of the people at the Goats'-Marsh.

The other account which is given of this war, and is approved by most historians, is as follows: Camillus being appointed a third time dictator, and knowing that the army under the military tribunes was surrounded by the Latins and the Volsci, was constrained to make levies among those whom age had exempted from service. With these he took a large circuit round Mount Marcius, and unperceived by the enemy posted his army behind them, and by lighting many fires signified his arrival. The Romans who were besieged in their camp, encouraged by this, resolved to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and the Volsci kept close within their works, drawing a line of circumvallation with palisades (because they had the enemy on both sides) and resolving to wait for reinforcements from home, as well as for the Tuscan succours.

Camillus perceiving this, and fearing that the enemy might surround him as he had surrounded them, hastened to avail himself of the present opportunity. As the works of the confederates consisted of wood, and the wind blew vehemently from the mountains at sun-rising, he provided a great quantity of combustible matter, and drew out his forces at day-break. Part of them he ordered to begin the attack, with loud shouts and missive weapons, on the opposite side; while he himself, at the head of those who were charged with the fire, watched the proper moment on that side of the works, against which the wind used to blow. When the sun was risen, the wind began to blow; and the attack being begun on the other side, he gave the signal to his own party, who poured a vast quantity of fiery darts and other burning matter into the enemy's fortifications. As the flame soon caught hold, and was fed by the palisades and other timber, it spread itself all around; and the Latins not being provided with

any means of extinguishing it, the camp was almost full of fire, and they were circumscribed within a small spot of ground. At last, they were compelled to bear down upon the forces, who were posted before the camp, and stood ready to receive them sword in hand. Few of them, consequently, escaped; and those that remained were destroyed by the flames, till the Romans extinguished them for the sake of the plunder.

After this exploit, Camillus left his son Lucius in the camp to guard the prisoners and the booty, while he himself penetrated into the enemy's country. There he took the city of the *Æqui*, and reduced the *Volscei*, and then led his army to *Sutrium*, of whose fate he was not yet apprised, and which he hoped to relieve by engaging it's Tuscan besiegers. But the *Sutrians* had already surrendered their town, with the loss of every thing except the clothes which they wore; and in this condition he met them by the way, with their wives and children, bewailing their misfortunes. Camillus was extremely moved at the sight; and perceiving that the Romans wept with pity at their affecting entreaties, he determined not to defer his revenge, but to march to *Sutrium* that very day: concluding that men who had just taken an opulent city, where they had not suffered a single enemy to remain, and who expected none from any other quarter, would be found in disorder and off their guard. Neither was he mistaken in his judgement. He not only passed through the country undiscovered, but approached the gates, and got possession of the walls before they were aware. There were none, indeed, to guard them; for all were engaged in festivity and dissipation. Nay, even when they perceived that the enemy were masters of the town, they were so overcome by their indulgences, that few endeavoured to escape; they were either slain in their houses, or surrendered themselves to the conquerors. Thus the city

of Sutrium being twice taken in one day, the new possessors were expelled, and the old ones restored by Camillus.

By the triumph decreed him upon this occasion he gained not less credit and honour, than by the two former. For those of the citizens who envied him, and were willing to attribute his successes rather to good-fortune than to bravery, were compelled by these last actions to allow his great abilities and energy. Among those who opposed him, and detracted from his merit, the most considerable was Marcus Manlius; he who first repulsed the Gauls, when they attempted the Capitol by night, and on that account had been surnamed Capitolineus. Ambitious to be the first man in Rome, and perceiving that he could not by fair means outstrip Camillus in the race of honour, he took the common road to absolute power by courting the populace, particularly those that were in debt. Some of the latter he defended, by pleading their causes against their creditors; and others he rescued, forcibly preventing their being dealt with according to law: so that he soon gathered a number of indigent persons about him, who became formidable to the patricians by their insolent and riotous behaviour in the Forum.

In this exigency they appointed Cornelius Cos-sus⁷² dictator, who named Titus Quintius Capitolineus his general of horse, and by this supreme magistrate Manlius was committed to prison: upon which occasion, the people went into mourning; a thing never used, except in seasons of heavy public calamity. The senate therefore, afraid of an insurrection, ordered him to be released. But when set at liberty, instead of altering his conduct, he grew more insolent and troublesome, and filled the whole city with faction and sedition. At that time Camillus was again created a military tribune, and Manlius was taken and brought to his trial. But the

⁷² See Liv. vi. 2.

view of the Capitol was a considerable disadvantage to those, who managed the impeachment. The place, where Manlius by night engaged the Gauls, was seen from the Forum; and all who attended were moved with compassion at his stretching out his hands toward that place, and begging them with tears to remember his achievements. The judges of course were greatly embarrassed, and often adjourned the court; not choosing to acquit him after such clear proofs of his crime, nor yet daring to carry the laws into execution in a place, which continually reminded the people of his services. Camillus, sensible of this, removed the tribunal without the gate into the Peteline Grove, whence there was no view of the Capitol⁷³. There the prosecutor brought his charge, and the remembrance of Manlius' former bravery gave way to the sense, which his judges had of his present crimes. He was consequently condemned, carried to the Capitol, and thrown headlong from the rock. Thus the same place was the monument, both of his glory, and of his unfortunate end. The Romans moreover rased his house, and built there a temple to the goddess Moneta. They decreed likewise that, for the future, no patrician should ever dwell in the Capitol⁷⁴.

⁷³ This alteration Livy (vi. 20.) imputes to the tribunes in general. Upon a similar principle, the thirty tyrants at Athens (as we have seen, in the *Life of Themistocles*, p. 341.) changed the place of the public assemblies, lest the view of the sea should cherish or revive the popular spirit. See also the *Life of Caius Gracchus*, Vol. V. Such influence, through the power of association, have things in themselves apparently indifferent on the minds of the multitude !*

⁷⁴ Lest the advantageous situation of a fortress, which commanded the whole city, should suggest and facilitate the design of enslaving it. For Manlius was accused of aiming at the sovereign power. His fate may serve as a warning to all ambitious men, who seek to rise upon the ruins of their country: for he could not escape or find mercy with the people, though he produced above four hundred plebeians, whose debts he had paid; showed thirty suits of armour, the spoils of thirty enemies, whom he had slain in single combat; had received forty honorary rewards, among which were two mural and eight civic crowns (C. Servilius, when general of the horse,

Camillus, who was now nominated military tribune the sixth time, declined that honour. For, beside his advanced age, he was apprehensive of the effects of envy, and of some change of fortune⁷⁵ after so much glory and success. But the excuse, upon which he most insisted in public, was the state of his health, at that time very infirm. The people however, refusing to admit that excuse, cried out; "They did not desire him to fight, either on horse-back or on foot: they only wanted his counsel and his orders." Thus they forced him to take the office upon him, and together with Lucius Furius Medullinus, one of his colleagues, to march immediately against the enemy.

These were the Prænestines and the Volsci, who with a considerable army were laying waste the country in alliance with Rome. Camillus therefore went and encamped over-against them, intending to

being of the number of citizens, whose lives he had saved), and had crowned all with the preservation of the Capitol. (Livy vi. 20.) (L.) Pliny, who enumerates these military honours (H. N. vii. 28.), differs in some few respects from Livy. He says that Manlius, before he was seventeen, had won the spoils of two enemies, was the first Roman knight that had gained a mural crown, had received five civic ones and thirty-seven honorary rewards, was gashed with three and twenty honourable scars, and at the time of saving Servilius was himself wounded in the thigh and in the shoulder. Yet all this could not expiate his treasonable projects against the liberties of his country. So inconstant however is the multitude, that Manlius was scarcely dead, when his loss was generally lamented, and a plague which soon followed was ascribed to the anger of Jupiter against the authors of his death! His whole family (Livy adds) ordained that, for the future, none of their descendants should bear the name of Marcius.*

⁷⁵ One of the numerous superstitions of the ancients was that, after an uninterrupted career of good fortune, Nemesis (the goddess of vengeance) often descended upon the favoured mortal in some signal calamity. See p. 377. not. (32.) We read of an Asiatic king, who to elude this sad reverse, threw his most valuable ring into the sea: but it was swallowed by a fish, and brought to him the next morning by some fishermen. Upon this, he resigned himself to his destiny, and was in a few days deposed and murdered. Camillus, who was now (A. U. C. 373) about sixty-six years of age, was going to take the usual oath of ill health, but the people refused to hear it. (Liv. vi. 22.)*

prolong the war, that if there should be any necessity for a battle, he might be sufficiently recovered to do his part. But as his colleague Lucius from an excessive thirst of glory was violently and indiscreetly bent upon fighting, and inspired others with the same ardour, he was afraid it might be thought that through envy he withheld from the young officers the opportunity of distinguishing themselves. For this reason he agreed, though with much reluctance, that Lucius should draw out the forces; while he, on account of his sickness⁷⁶, remained with a handful of men in the camp. But when he understood that Lucius, who had engaged in a rash and precipitate manner, was defeated and the Romans put to flight, he could not contain himself, but leaped from his bed, and rushed to the gates of the camp with his attendants. There he forced his way through the fugitives up to the pursuers, and made so good a stand, that those who had fled soon returned to the charge, and others that were retreating rallied and placed themselves about him, exhorting each other not to forsake their general. Thus the enemy were stopped in the pursuit. He next day marched out at the head of his army, entirely routed the confederates in a pitched battle, and entering their camp along with them cut most of them in pieces.

After this, being informed that Satricum⁷⁷ (a Roman colony) was taken by the Tuscans, and the inhabitants put to the sword, he sent home the main body of his forces consisting of the heavy-

⁷⁶ Livy (vi. 22.) says, he placed himself on an eminence, with a *corps de reserve*, to watch the progress of the battle.

⁷⁷ This is not the same place with the Sutrium above-mentioned, though they are apparently confounded by Plutarch. Our author indeed, in his account of this war swerving from Livy too widely, has fallen (as M. Sécouse has fully proved, *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. v.*) into several mistakes. Upon the acceptance of the word *virium* the French critics, MM. Sécouse, Dacier, and Ricard are at variance; whether it is applied by Livy to the person, or to the army of Camillus.*

armed, and with a select band of light and spirited young men fell upon the enemies then in possession of the city, some of whom he killed, and the rest he drove out.

Returning to Rome with great spoils, he bore strong testimony to the good sense of the Roman people, who entertained no fears on account of the ill health or advanced age of a general not deficient in courage or experience; but chose him, infirm and reluctant as he was, rather than those young men, who had coveted and solicited the command⁷⁸. Hence it was, that upon the news of the revolt of the Tusculans, Camillus was ordered to march against them, and to take with him only one of his five colleagues. They all courted and made interest for the commission; but passing over the rest he pitched, contrary to the general expectation, upon Lucius Furius: for this was the man, who but just before, in opposition to his opinion, was so eager to engage, and lost the battle. Yet, willing (it seems) to draw a veil over his misfortune, and to wipe off his disgrace, he was generous enough to give him the preference⁷⁹.

When the Tusculans perceived that Camillus was coming against them, they attempted by artful management to correct their error. They filled the fields with husbandmen and shepherds, as in the time of profound peace; left their gates open, and sent their children to school as before. Tradesmen were found in their shops employed in their respective callings, and the better sort of citizens walking in the public places in their usual dress⁸⁰. The ma-

⁷⁸ So the Comdé de Fontanes, a celebrated Spanish general, showed (to use the expressions of the eloquent Bossuet, in his *Éloge du grand Conde*) '*que, malgré ses infirmités, une ame guerrière est maîtresse du corps qu'elle anime.*'*

⁷⁹ This choice of Camillus had a different motive from what Plutarch mentions. He knew that Furius, who had felt the ill effects of a precipitate conduct, would be the first man to avoid such temerity for the future.

⁸⁰ The *toga* was the dress of peace, as the *sagum* was that of war.

gistrates meanwhile were busily passing to and fro, to provide quarters for the Romans; as if they expected no danger, and were conscious of no offence. Though these arts could not alter the opinion, which Camillus entertained of their revolt, yet their repentance disposed him to compassion. He ordered them, therefore, to go to the senate of Rome, and beg pardon; and, when they appeared there as suppliants, he used his interest to procure their forgiveness, and a grant of the privileges of Roman citizens⁸¹ besides. These were the principal actions of his sixth tribuneship.

After this, Licinius Stolo raised an alarming sedition in the state; putting himself at the head of the people, who insisted that of the two consuls one should be a plebeian. Tribunes of the people were appointed, but the multitude would suffer no election of consuls to be held⁸². As this want of chief

Livy (vi. 25.) mentions some other artifices, to which they resorted upon this occasion.*

⁸¹ He only was a Roman citizen, in the most extensive signification of the word, who had a right to possess a house in Rome, to give his vote in the *Comitia*, and to stand candidate for any office; and who, consequently, was incorporated into one of the tribes. The freedmen in the times of the republic were excluded from dignities: and of the municipal towns and Roman colonies, which enjoyed the right of citizenship, some had, and some had not, the right of suffrage and of promotion to offices in Rome. (L.)

The simple and affecting address of the Tusculans upon this occasion, and the impression made upon the senate by their dejected appearance, are recorded by Livy (vi. 20.) The right of citizenship was granted them some time afterward.*

⁸² This confusion lasted five years; during which the tribunes of the people obstructed the holding of the *Comitia*, necessary for the election of the chief magistrates. It was occasioned by a trifling accident. Fabius Ambustus having married his eldest daughter to Servius Sulpicius a patrician, and at that time military tribune, and the younger to Licinius Stolo a rich plebeian; it happened that, while the younger sister was paying a visit to the elder, Sulpicius came home from the Forum, and his lictors with the staff of the fasces thundered at the door. The younger sister being frightened at the noise, the elder laughed at her, as a person quite ignorant of high life. This affront greatly afflicted her; and her father, to comfort her, bid her not be uneasy, for she should soon see as much state at her own house, as had surprised her at that of her sister. (L.)

magistrates was likely to cause still greater troubles, the senate created Camillus the fourth time dictator, without the consent of the people, and not even agreeably to his own inclination⁸². For he was unwilling to set himself against those persons who, having been often led on by him to conquest, could with truth affirm that he had more concern with them in military, than with the patricians in civil concerns: and at the same time he was sensible, that the envy of those very patricians induced them in the present instance to promote him to that high station, that he might oppress the people if he succeeded, or be ruined by them if he failed in his attempt. He tried, however, to obviate the present danger; and, as he knew the day upon which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he published a general muster, and summoned the people from the Forum into the field, threatening to impose heavy fines upon those who should disobey. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people opposed him with menaces, solemnly protesting they would fine him fifty thousand drachmas, if he did not permit the people to put their bill to the vote. Whether he were afraid of a second condemnation and banishment, which would but ill suit one so full of years and of glory, or whether he thought that he could not get the better of the people, whose violence was equal to their power, for the present he retired to his own house; and soon afterward, under pretence of sickness, resigned the dictatorship⁸³. The

With a view to accomplish this purpose, her husband and father, in conjunction with one Lucius Sextius (afterward made first plebeian consul) proposed several popular laws; one to diminish the current rate of interest, another to limit the landed property of individuals to 500 acres, and a third to obtain for the populace the magistracy in question. The whole proceedings upon this occasion are fully detailed by Livy. (vi. 34—38.)*

⁸² A. U. C. 338.

⁸³ He pretended to find something amiss in the auspices, which were taken when he was appointed. (Liv. vi. 38.) He was succeeded in the dictatorship by Publius Manlius.

senate appointed another dictator, who having named Stolo, the very leader of the sedition, his general of horse, suffered a law to be enacted extremely hostile to the patrician interest, providing that no person whatever should possess more than five hundred acres of land. Stolo, having carried his point with the people, flourished greatly for a while : but not long afterward ⁸⁵, being convicted of possessing more than the number of acres which he had himself prescribed to others, he suffered the penalties of his own law ⁸⁶.

The most difficult part of the dispute and that with which they set out, concerning the election of consuls, remained still unsettled, and continued to give the senate considerable uneasiness ; when certain information was brought, that the Gauls were marching again from the coasts of the Adriatic, with an immense army toward Rome. With this intelligence arrived an account of the usual effects of war, the country laid waste, and such of the inhabitants as could not take refuge in Rome dispersed about the mountains. The terror of this put a stop to the sedition ; and the most popular of the senators, uniting unanimously with the people, created Camillus a fifth time dictator. He was now very old, being nearly fourscore ; yet, seeing the necessity and danger of the times, he was willing to risk all inconveniences, and without alleging any excuse, immediately took upon himself the command and made the levies. As he knew the chief force of the barbarians lay in their swords, which they managed without art or skill, furiously rushing in and aiming chiefly at the head and shoulders, he furnished most

⁸⁵ It was eleven years afterward, A. U. C. 398. Popilius Lænas fined him ten thousand sesterces, for being possessed of a thousand acres of land in conjunction with his son, whom he had emancipated for that purpose. (Liv. vii. 16.)

⁸⁶ A singular parallel to this instance, of a great public officer infringing a law of his own suggestion, is supplied by the trial of lord viscount Melville, A. D. 1806.*

of his men with helmets of well polished iron, that the swords might either break or glance aside ; and round the borders of their shields he drew a plate of brass, because the wood of itself could not resist the strokes. Beside this, he taught them to avail themselves of long pikes, by pushing with which they might prevent the effect of the enemy's swords.

When the Gauls reached the river Anio⁸⁷, encumbered with the vast body which they had collected, Camillus drew out his forces, and posted them upon a hill of easy ascent ; in which were many hollows sufficient to conceal the greater part of his men, while those that were in view should seem, through fear, to have taken advantage of the higher grounds. And the more to confirm this opinion in the enemy, he made no opposition to the depredations committed in his sight, but remained quietly in the camp which he had fortified ; until he beheld part of them dispersed in order to plunder, and part indulging themselves day and night in drinking and revelling. He then sent out the light-armed infantry before day, to prevent their drawing up in a regular manner, and to harass them by sudden skirmishing as they issued out of their trenches ; and as soon as it was light he led down the heavy-armed, and formed them in battle-array upon the plain, neither few in numbers nor disheartened as the Gauls had expected, but numerous and full of spirits.

This was the first thing which shook their resolution, for they considered it as a disgrace to have the Romans the assailants. The light-armed then falling upon them, before they could get into order and rank themselves by companies, pressed them so warmly, that they were obliged to come in great confusion to the engagement. Last of all, Camillus leading on the heavy-armed, the Gauls with brandished swords hastened to fight hand to hand ;

⁸⁷ *Hod. Il Teverone.**

but the Romans meeting the strokes with their pikes, and receiving them on that part which was guarded with iron, so turned their thin and soft-tempered swords, that they were soon bent almost double⁸⁸; and their shields were pierced, and weighed down, with the pikes that stuck in them. They quitted therefore their own arms, and endeavoured to seize those of the enemy, and to wrest their pikes from them. The Romans, seeing them disarmed, now began to use their swords, and made dreadful havock among the foremost. In the mean time the rest took to flight, and were scattered along the plain, for Camillus had before-hand secured the heights; and, as in the confidence of victory they had left their camp unfortified, they knew it would be taken with ease.

This battle is said to have been fought thirteen years after the taking of Rome⁸⁹; and by it's issue dispelled the dismal apprehensions, which the Romans had hitherto entertained of the barbarians. They had imagined, it seems, that their prior victory over the Gauls was owing to the sickness which prevailed in their army, and to other unforeseen accidents, rather than to their own valour; and so great had their terror formerly been, as to have given occasion to a law, 'that the priests should be exempted from military service, *except in the event of an invasion from the Gauls.*'

This was the last of Camillus' martial exploits. For the taking of Velitræ was a direct consequence of this victory, and it surrendered without the least resistance. But the greatest conflict, which he ever experienced in the state, still remained: For the people were harder to deal with, after they returned victorious; and they insisted that one of the consuls, contrary to the present constitution, should be

⁸⁸ Polybius (iv. 33.) gives a similar account of the ease, with which the swords of the Gauls were bent and blunted.*

⁸⁹ Not thirteen, but twenty-three years after that event. (Liv. vi. 42.)

chosen out of their body. The senate opposed them, and would not suffer Camillus to resign the dictatorship, thinking that they could better defend the rights of the nobility under the sanction of his supreme authority. But one day, as Camillus was sitting in the Forum and employed in the distribution of justice, an officer sent by the tribunes of the people ordered him to follow, and laid his hand upon him, as if he would seize him and carry him away. Upon this, such a noise and tumult was raised in the assembly, as had never been known before; those who were about Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the populace calling out to drag the dictator from his seat. In this case, Camillus was much embarrassed; he did not, however, resign the dictatorship, but led off the patricians to the senate-house. Previously to his entering it, he turned toward the Capitol, and besought the gods to put a happy end to the present disturbances, solemnly vowing to build a temple to Concord when the tumult should be appeased.

In the senate there was a diversity of opinions, and much warm debate. The mild and popular counsel however prevailed, which allowed one of the consuls to be a plebeian⁹⁰. When the dictator announced this decree to the people, they received it (as it was natural they should) with great satisfaction, were immediately reconciled to the senate, and

⁹⁰ The people having gained this point, the consulate was revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever. But at the same time the patricians procured the appointment of a new officer, called prætor, who was always to be one of their body. The consuls had been generals of the Roman armies, and at the same time judges of civil affairs; but as they were often in the field, it was thought proper to separate the latter branch from the former, and appropriate it to a judge with the title of prætor, who was to be next to them in dignity. [The first, who bore this high office, was the son of Camillus. At the same time, likewise, the curule ædileship was instituted. Liv. vii. 1.*] About A. U. C. 501, another prætor was appointed, to decide the differences among foreigners; upon the taking of Sicily and Sardinia, two others; and as many more upon the conquest of Spain.

conducted Camillus home with loud applause. Next day they assembled, and voted that the temple, which Camillus had vowed to Concord, should on account of this great event be built upon a spot fronting the Forum and place of assembly. To the Latin Festival they added one day more, which was thenceforward to consist of four; and for the present they ordained, that the whole people of Rome should sacrifice with garlands on their heads. Camillus then held an assembly for the election of consuls, when Marcus Æmilius was chosen out of the nobility, and Lucius Sextius from the commonalty, the first plebeian who attained that honour.

This was the last of Camillus' transactions. The year following, a pestilence visited Rome, which carried off a prodigious number of the people, most of the magistrates, and Camillus himself. His death could not be deemed premature, on account of his great age, and the offices which he had borne; yet was he more lamented than all the rest of the citizens conjunctively, who died of that distemper⁹¹.

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS

COMPARED. †

THE lives of Themistocles and Camillus exhibit striking features of resemblance. To their merit both were exclusively indebted for their renown: both distinguished themselves by their brilliant achievements; both rescued their respective countries from the polluting grasp of barbarian invaders; both raised them from their ruins, and were considered as their second founders*. At the

⁹¹ Though it carried off a censor, a curule ædile, and three tribunes of the people. Livy's panegyric is more ample than this of Plutarch, but not more expressive.*

* Grotius finds a parallel to the Roman chieftain in Nehemiah, whom he also compares to the elder Cato. See a note subjoined to the opening of his sixth sermon, beginning, 'There is a dispo-

same time however we discover, as well in their general character as in their civil, political, and military conduct, several marked distinctions. Themistocles born in obscurity, and under all the disadvantages of a very moderate fortune, quickly announced to the world his high destination. Camillus, though inheriting patrician blood, and consequently placed in the track of honours, derived not much advantage from that circumstance; as, through the depression of his house's fortunes, he was obliged to owe every thing to the exertion of his own powerful energies. Themistocles, in his early life little elevated above his companions, showed himself negligent of those delicate and polite attentions which, even coupled (as they frequently are) with mediocrity of talent, are so fascinating in general society. But he soon displayed a strong faculty of reasoning, profound judgement, and an eminent capacity for the art of governing. His was however a stormy youth, ruffled by those tempests which rise from a boiling spirit, agitated by the passions of that impetuous age. Camillus, an uniform example of honour and virtue, began almost from his infancy to cultivate his great natural endowments, and to direct them to the public good. In his very first campaign, made in his fourteenth year, an exploit of extraordinary gallantry points him out to his admiring country, as one intimately connected with her future destiny. He does not disappoint her fond expectations: the maturity of his intellect out-runs his boyhood, and he stands unreproached by history with a single instance of those irregularities,

sition of mind called Public Spirit, or the Love of our Country, which good men in all ages have exerted, which prudent men have encouraged by endeavouring to make it fashionable and honourable, which ingenious men have consecrated to immortality by their praises of it, which few men, how profligate soever, have had the impudence to censure openly, which ridicule, that spares nothing, hath been almost afraid to attack, and *which in our country hath been much talked of and seldom found!* He then proceeds to show how abundantly it existed in the Jew in question.*

which often so unfortunately characterise the season of youth.

A zealous regard for religion was common to both. In all state-emergencies, their first step is by vows and sacrifices to entreat the protection of the gods. In this however the Greek appears to have acted chiefly from the cool policy of his head, the Roman from the honest piety of his heart. Well aware of the influence of religious feeling upon the human mind, Themistocles dexterously introduces it, upon occasions of pressing exigency, to revive the drooping spirit of Athens: the first care of Camillus after the expulsion of the Gauls, correspondent with the rest of his conduct, is to rebuild the temples which they had destroyed. His life is wound up with a bright display of religion; for a short time before his death he dedicated a temple of Concord, in acknowledgement of the happy reconciliation of the senate and the people, which it had been his ambition and his glory to effect. Themistocles likewise, after the battle of Salamis, erected a temple to Diana Orthobule ('the Prudent'): but for this apparent act of devotion he was reproached even by his contemporaries, as a monument erected by his vanity in commemoration of those counsels, by which he had saved Greece. If Camillus be open to any censure in this respect, it is that he forgot to fulfil his vow of consecrating to Apollo the tenth part of the spoils of Veii; a vow, indeed, of which we shall perhaps be disposed to regard the fulfilment as impracticable, when we consider the tumult and distraction consequent upon taking a place by storm.

Camillus had, likewise, great benevolence of disposition. He could not see an opulent city consigned to the ravages of a licentious soldiery without compassion, and watered the laurels he had gathered, with his tears. Of this honourable sensibility, which graces the cheek of the warrior, we find no traces in Themistocles. Devoted to ambition and a thirst

for glory, he is uniformly, and often criminally selfish. Hence his jealousy of several eminent Athenians, particularly of Aristides, whom he drives into banishment; whereas Camillus divides with his colleagues the honour, in many instances exclusively due to himself, of his most heroic achievements. To this remark his first triumph, after the taking of Veii, forms the sole exception. The facility, with which the Athenian seems to forget his country amidst the splendours of the Persian court, is no great proof of his patriotism; and though he prefers death by his own hand to the alternative of meeting her in the field, it is possible that he might fear to risk his military reputation at the head of an effeminate mob of troops against their habitual conquerors, the well-disciplined and well-officered veterans of Greece. Camillus, exiled by the unjust resentments of the people, quits Rome with the deepest regret; and though in his first bitter moment of suffering he utters against her an inconsiderate imprecation, it is obvious that he still cherishes a strong attachment to her in his heart; and that he only wishes to see her involved in distress, in order to have an opportunity of inflicting upon her the noblest of revenges, that of effecting her deliverance.

At the epochs of their respective banishments, the superiority of Camillus to Themistocles appears the most striking. This sentence the latter seems to have incurred by the heavy contributions, which he exacted from the allies of Athens, as well as by his continual parade of his toils and services. That of Camillus arose from less dishonourable causes. His unfortunate neglect of the vow mentioned above might, from its consequences, have a little weight upon the occasion: but the chief ground of his exile was the inflexibility, with which he constantly withstood the popular, but ruinous, project of transferring half the population of Rome to Veii. Themistocles, in banishment, sunk from his high reputation: obsequious in his first address to 'the

great king,' the haughty republican degenerated into the servile satrap; and his expulsion from Athens proved the limit of his exploits, and the sepulchre of his glory. Camillus, at Ardea, preserves all the dignity and patriotism of his character. Upon the first rumours of the Roman disasters, he arms the inhabitants of that place, and attacks the enemies of his country with considerable success: but he rigidly refuses to place himself at the head of his countrymen collected at Veii, till their choice is sanctioned by the concurrence of their brethren shut up in the Capitol. Upon the notification of that concurrence, he instantly rushes to the rescue of Rome, and irresistibly compels it's ferocious invaders to retire.

With regard to their military prowess however, we feel ourselves disposed, at the first view, to assign the palm to Themistocles. The most splendid actions of the Roman general "hide their diminished heads," when placed by the side of the battle of Salamis. That deluge of barbarians, which threatened to convert the beautiful plains of Greece into 'a solitude so frightful, that no Greek should in future desire to inhabit it;' a fleet of twelve hundred vessels, not to mention the countless myriads of land-forces acting in it's support, defeated by one less than it's sixth part in number, gives an unrivalled brilliancy to this wonderful conflict. But, if to this bright day, almost the single gem in Themistocles' crown of glory, we oppose Camillus' sixty years of victory unsullied by defeat, the latter may hardily challenge comparison with his rival, if not assert his superiority. We must admit, indeed, that upon the event of the action of Salamis hung the salvation of Greece; and, if the merit of an exploit is to be measured by it's consequences, no single deed can vie in lustre with that memorable effort. To this we must likewise add, as farther sources of credit to Themistocles, his dexterity in selecting the most favourable spot

for the engagement, in constraining the Greeks (notwithstanding their injudicious reluctance) to avail themselves of the advantage, and in influencing Xerxes to a precipitate retreat. On the other hand, to estimate the importance of Camillus' achievements, we must place in the balance with Greece Rome, a city already powerful, and destined soon to sway the sceptre of the world: we must consider the cool and steady valour with which he wrested the ransom of his country from the gripe of her insolent and formidable conqueror; the penetration, with which he always saw and seized the expedient; the address, with which he set fire to the Latin camp, and destroyed the whole army; finally, his last victory over the Gauls, in which, notwithstanding his extreme age, he displayed so much foresight, resolution, and activity—and we shall pause, before we venture to pronounce a decisive opinion upon their relative merits. Themistocles too, it ought to be subjoined, at the battle of Salamis had several colleagues, particularly Aristides, who might justly claim a portion of the common glory⁹²: whereas Camillus, in all his labours, stood independent and alone.

Themistocles was principally distinguished by his political talents. With a natural taste for the science of government, he made it his principal study; and was little less useful to Athens by his civil, than by his military services. In the dispute prior to the engagement at Salamis about the command in chief, he not only promptly, as far as concerned his own claim, surrenders the honour in debate, but determines his countrymen likewise to make the same patriotic sacrifice to the general weal. He strenuously opposes the project sug-

⁹² Might it not however almost as probably be inferred, from many passages in Grecian history, that these colleagues embarrassed, rather than promoted, his measures; and therefore multiplied, rather than divided, his glory.

gested by the Spartans, of excluding from the Amphictyonic council the delegates of those republics, which had not taken up arms against Xerxes; a project, calculated in it's issue to leave Greece wholly at the disposal of the two or three principal states. Camillus had fewer opportunities of exhibiting his political skill. In this respect, indeed, he was probably inferior to the Athenian leader: the laws however, which under the pressure of circumstances he enacted, were highly judicious. The plan suggested by Themistocles to the Athenians, of making their principal exertions by sea, has been the subject of much commendation, as one of the chief causes of their subsequent power: it has likewise incurred not less censure, as having eventually contributed to their ruin. It completely changed, without doubt, the military constitution of Athens; and Plato reproaches it's adviser with having converted excellent soldiers into crews of sailors and marines. This gave the inferior orders too great an ascendancy in the government; and, by corrupting the marines, led to the decay of the state. Camillus, in opposing the scheme of the Veian migration, acted with more enlarged views; and by his vigorous resistance evinced as much prudence, as perseverance and intrepidity. His moderation and wisdom he likewise equally evinced in conceding to the people the privilege of a plebeian consul, and thus terminating one of the longest and most perilous dissensions of the commonwealth.

If then his political system had less of comprehension and of finesse, than that of Themistocles, it had more of honour and of virtue. His treatment of the Falerian schoolmaster forms a most striking and creditable contrast with the plan devised by the Athenian chieftain of setting fire, in the time of profound peace, to the confederate navy of Greece. Camillus could never have conceived a

project, which Aristides would have condemned as 'not more useful than unjust;' and Themistocles, in Camillus' situation, would probably not have rejected the proposal made to him by the pedagogue of Falerii.

END OF VOL. I.







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